

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

A

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

SANSKRIT, ZEND,

GREEK, LATIN, LITHUANIAN, GOTHIC, GERMAN,

AND SLAVONIC LANGUAGES

BY

PROFESSOR F BOPP

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

EDWARD B EASTWICK FRS, TSA MRAS

P NC XP RD 1 EMBER OF TH A ATI IS
 AY F H DAN TALS I AN TH T ILO²DUICK
 C T F N H NORAN 2 R F THE A RA I E ARY
 S FR R F R E A E LI A AN IN
 THE EA T I IA C HAI BUR D TRA
 AR A H AN TH K I AN TH M
 A THF BA H AN R TH TH
 A A I IA E F

VOL II

SECOND EDITION

LONDON

JAMES MADDEN;

8 LEADENHALL STREET

1854

LONDON

WILLIAM M WATTS, CROWN COURT, TEMPLE BAR

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

PART II

PRONOUNS

FIRST AND SECOND PERSONS

326 In these pronouns the genders are not distinguished in any of the Indo European languages and all the sister dialects agree with one another surprisingly in this point that the nominative singular first person is from a different base from that from which the oblique cases come. It is Sanscrit अहम् *aham* Zend 𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀 *azem* Greek εγω Latin *ego* Gothic *ik* Lithuanian *asz* Old Slavonic *az*. The *am* of अहम् *aham* is a termination like that in *tvam* thou *ayam* this and *mayam* self and in the plural *vayam* We *yuyam* ye. The Alope εγωῶν answers better than εγω to *aham* but I would prefer εγωῶν in order to explain the lengthening of the vowel in εγω as a compensation for the loss of the nasal. The abbreviated εγω may however have reacted on the more complete εγωῶν and may have imparted to it the length of its vowel. In the other European languages except the Latin the entire termination has disappeared as is also the case in Greek and Latin in *su tu* answering to the Sanscrit Zend *tiam* (from *tu am*) 𐬀𐬭𐬀 *tum* (§ 42). To the latter however answers the Bæot *τοῦν* and the η of the Doric and Lacon *τουνη τουνη* is perhaps an unorganic addition as in Gothic the *a* in pronominal accusatives (*tha na* for *than* from

tham, (§ 149) if not, *vy* must be regarded as an annexed particle. The oblique cases, in Sanscrit, have in the first person *ma*, and in the second *tva*, as theme, which is lengthened, however, in some cases, by the admixture of an *i* (compare § 158), hence *mé*, *tvé*. On the other hand, *tva*, in the dative, abbreviates itself to *tu* (*tu-bhyam*), from which, also, the nominative *tv-am* in the genitive *tav-a* the *u* of *tu* receives the Guna, or the *a* of *tva* is transposed. To the base *ma* answers the Greek *MO*, which forms the base of the genitive *μοῦ*, and dative *μοι*. The *ε* of 'EMO rests on the prevailing disposition of the Greek to prefix a vowel to forms beginning with a consonant, as *ὄνομα*, *ὁδοῦς*, *ὁφρῦς*, *ἐλαχῦς*, answering to *nâma*, *danta-s*, *bhi ū-s*, *laghu-s*, "light". The *o* of *MO*, 'EMO is interchanged with *c* (see § 3) hence *ἐμῖο*, *ἐμέθεν* for *ἐμοῖο*, *ἐμό-θεν* (compare *πόθεν*, *ἄλλο-θεν*, and others), *ἐμέο* for *ἐμόο*,* *ἐμεῦ*, *μεῦ* for *ἐμοῦ*, *μοῦ*. In the Æolic-Doric forms *ἐμεῦς*, *ἐμοῦς*, as in *τεῦς*, *τεοῦς*, the *Σ* is a later addition, introduced by the necessity for a *Σ* as a genitive character, after the old genitive *Σ* which, according to § 189, in the *o* declension did not stand at the end but in the middle had been long lost. Compare, in this respect, the regained genitive sibilants in New German forms like *Herzens* (p 167). In the uninflected accusative *μέ*, *έμέ*, the case parallel with that of a final *ε* for *o*, which latter might have been expected, as in § 204, with the *ε* of the vocative *λύκε*. As to the dispensing with the accusative nasal, however, it is important to remark, that, in Sanscrit, for *mām*, "me," and *tvām*, "thee," are also used *mā*, *tvā*, without the sign of the case, and the rejection of the *m* has, perhaps, next given occasion to the lengthening of the *a*, so that here that would hold good with regard to *mām* and *tvām* that was

~

* The form *λυκοῖο* would have, according to the usual rules of contraction, to be compared with *λύκου*, after loss of the *i* through an intervening *λυκεο*.

conjectured above of $\epsilon\gamma\omega\nu$ for $\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu$ * The Latin supports in like manner by its accusatives *me* and *te* the ancient loss of the inflexion

327 The theme of the second person *tia* divides itself in Greek after the vowel or semi vowel has been lost into the forms ΣY and ΣO for ΣFO and the o is exchanged with e as in the first person $\sigma\epsilon\iota\omicron$ $\sigma\epsilon\theta\epsilon\nu$ &c II VIII 37 the e of $\tau\epsilon\omicron\iota\omicron$ — $\tau\epsilon\omicron-(\sigma)\iota\omicron$ —stands as it appears as a melting of the F or thinning of the ν (as $\pi\eta\chi\epsilon$ $\omega\varsigma$ for $\pi\eta\chi\nu-\omega\varsigma$) and a pre supposed $\tau\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron$ or $\tau\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron$ would correspond excellently to the Zend *thwa hyá* to which a Sanscrit *tia sya* would answer in case *thwakyá* which formerly appeared to me to be an instrumental is really a genitive as according to p 280 Rem 3 can scarcely be doubted The Gothic has weakened the α of the base *ma* to i and contracted the termination *ia* of the 2d person to u hence *MI THU* dative *mi s thu s* accusative *mi l thu l* The genitive is in Sanscrit in departure from all other genitives *mama tava* The former appears to have arisen by reduplication the Zend however substitutes for it *mana* and in the Gothic *na* has assumed so much the character of an inflexion that it has made its way also into the 2d person and the 3d person which is void of gender *mei na thei na sei na* *Theina* I regard as an abbreviation of *thwei-na* as *sei na* from *swei na* for *thuna* must have sprung from *THU* As however m *ma* has in Gothic become *MI* and from this has been formed by lengthening it *MEI* so might also n *tia* become *THVI* and *THVEI* According to this the genitive *theina*—is the abbreviation of *thiaina*—in respect to its base has the same relation to *thu* that in Greek $\sigma\omicron\upsilon$ (from $\sigma Fo\upsilon$) has to $\sigma\upsilon$, or that $\tau\epsilon\upsilon$ (from $\tau Fe\upsilon$) has to $\tau\upsilon$

* The reason of the lengthening might be looked for also in the words being monosyllabic which however takes place also in the ablative *mat tuat*

328 In Latin, as in Gothic, the *a* of the Indian *ma* has been weakened to *i*, and thus, in a measure, has changed the declension of the pronoun from the second, which, according to §. 116, was to have been expected, into the third dative *mi-hi* for मयि *ma-hyam* (§ 215), accusative *me* for *mum* (as *hoste-m* from *HOSTI*), not *mi* for *mum*, ablative *me* from *med*, not *mo* from *mod* = Sanscrit म *ma*. The genitive *mei* rests, according to § 200, on the locative मयि *may-i* (euphonic for *māi*), and belongs, therefore, to the lengthened theme मे *mē*. In the second person, according to the analogy of *mei*, the form *tui* might have been expected from त्वयि *tray-i*, which may originally have existed, but in the actual condition of the language is impossible, for *v* cannot consist with a preceding consonant, but in this position is either resolved into *u*, and at times, indeed, with the sacrifice of the vowel following, as in *sud-o*, answering to सिद् *svid*, “to sweat”, or has itself disappeared, as in *canis*, answering to कान, “a dog,” *sonus* for *sonus*, answering to स्वान-*s*, “a tone”,* or has dislodged the preceding consonant, as above (p 421), in *bis*, as a hardening of *vis*, from *divis*. We should hence have to expect for *tui*, together with some other forms, also *lei* (for *tui*), as also *ti-bi* may be taken as an abbreviation of *tui-bi* for although the dative in Sanscrit is *tu-bhyam*, and the transition from *u* to *i* in Latin is not unusual (fourth declension *i-bus* for *u-bus*), still the Sanscrit contraction of *tua-bhyam* to *tu-bhyam* is scarcely of so old a date as to serve for a point of departure for the Latin *ti-bi*, and I therefore prefer considering *tibi*, *sibi*, as abbreviations of *tui-bi*, *sui-bi*, than as corruptions of *tu-bi*, *su-bi*.

329 In Sanscrit, *mē*, *tē*, exist as co-forms for the genitive and dative (*mama*, *tava*, *mahyam*, *tubhyam*) *tē*, how-

* The Greek φωνή is, probably, an analogous word, and would, accordingly, stand for σφωνή

ever is clearly an abbreviation of *te* and I have found this opinion which I have expressed before supported by Rosen's Veda specimen (p 26) and by the Zend. The latter gives *𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀲𑀭* *thnōi* for the Veda *the*, but at the same time also the abbreviated forms *𑀭𑀸𑀓* *tōi* and *𑀭𑀸𑀓* *te*, by which as it were the way of corruption is pointed out to the Latin *ti bi* and Gothic *thai na*. Although according to § 326 *मे me* and *ते te* lie at the bottom of several cases as the theme still perhaps these forms together with the abbreviated *te* where they appear as genitives or datives are not to be regarded as naked bases as it is contrary to the genius of the language to introduce such a theme as the one spoken of * but they may be explained as locatives according to the principle of the common *a* bases (§ 196) as in Sanscrit the locative very frequently supplies the place of the dative and the dative relation is expressed by the genitive even more commonly than by the dative. But if *मे me* and *ते te* *ते tōi* and the corresponding Zend forms are really locatives they are then according to § 196 identical with the Greek datives *μοι σοι* or *τοι* which however must be compared with the actual locatives *मयि* *mayi* *त्वायि* *trāyi* by casting out the semi vowel if *मे me* and *ते te* should pass as uninflected themes extended only mechanically.

330 The genitives *मम mama* *𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀲𑀭 mana* and *तारा* serve the Lithuanian and with the exception of the ablative and genitive also the Old Slavonic as the groundwork of the oblique singular cases. They are recognised with a weakening of the final *a* to *i* most distinctly in the Lithuanian instrumental and locative *manimi* *maniye* *tanimi* *taniye*. The genitive dative and accusative are *anoma*

* The case is different when a word by rubbing off the termination sinks back again into the condition of a theme besides only nouns exhibit the pure theme in the nominative, ablative and vocative singular

lous *manens, lavens, man, lav, manen, laven*, but have, in like manner, proceeded from the old genitive. In Old Slavonic, the accusative *mya, tya*, still remains upon the old footing, and answers to *я mĭ*, "me," *ты tĭ*, "thee," according to § 255 *n*, with loss of the *v* in the second person. The genitive *mine*, "of me," answers exactly to the Zend *mana* (see § 255 *a*) and *tebe*, "of thee," to the Indo-Zend *tava*. Considered from a Slavonic point of view, however, *MEN, TEB* must be regarded as themes, and *e* for *es* as the common genitive termination (§ 269) *MNO, TEBO*, and *TOBO*, clearly lie as themes at the bottom of the dative-locative *mye, tebye*.

331 The plural in the pronoun first person is, in most of the Indo-European languages, distinct in base from the singular. I have already elsewhere endeavoured to explain this* on the ground that "I" is properly incapable of a plural, for there is but one "I", and the notion "we" comprehends "me" and an indefinite number of other individuals, each of which may even belong to a different species, while by *leones* a plurality of individuals is represented, of which each is a lion. And the case is similar with the plurals of all other substantives, adjectives, and pronouns, for "they" is a multiplying of "he," and "ye" may be rather regarded as the plural of "thou," than "we" as the plural of "I". Where, however, the idea "we" is expressed by the plural of "I," it there happens on account of the preponderating feeling of our own personality, in which the "not I" is drowned, and is left unnoticed, or is supplied by the custom of the language. Hence one might seek to adjust the Sanscrit nominative *वयम् vayam* (from *vé + am*) by the frequent interchange of *m* and *v* (§ 63) with the lengthened singular base *मे mé*

* Hist. Phil. Trans. of the Ac. of Litt. for the year 1824 p. 134

(p 158) an interchange which must however be very old since the German scarcely by accident partakes in it and which may be favoured by the circumstance that there exists actually an internal motive for a difference in the base syllable

332 In the Vedas occurs also *asmi* for *ayam*, and this *asme* is according to § 223 formed from the theme *as na* from which also in the common Sanskrit all the oblique cases proceed and to which the Greek attaches itself in the nominative, for the most genuine Aëolic form *ἄμμες* stands by assimilation for *ἄσμες* (see § 170) as *εμμι* from *εσμι* Sanskrit *asmi* I am I or *αμμες* however *ἄμμοι* ought to be the corresponding word to the Veda *asmé* as the theme *asma* according to § 116 would in the Greek sound ΑΣΜΟ however by dropping the final vowel the Greek form has wandered into the department of another declension The same is the case with *ῥμμες* answering to the Veda *yushm* (euphonic for *yushmê*) On the other hand *ημεῖς υμεῖς* presuppose a theme ΗΜΙ ΥΜΙ the *i* of which is to be taken as a weakening of the Indian *a* of *asma yushma* as in Gothic *UNSI I/II* (§ 167) with *UNS I I/II* The genitives *αμμε ωι υμμε ωι* also—for *αμμι ωι υμμι ωι* and in the common language *ημῶν υμῶν*—show that they are deduced from bases in *i* just so the datives *ημῖν υμῖν* for *ημι ν υμι ν* with *ν* for the Indian termination *bhyam* in *asmabhyam yushmabhyam* (§ 222) The accusatives *ημας υμας* are contractions of an unusual kind from *ημι ας υμι ας* for which might be expected *ημῖς υμῖς* or *ημεῖς υμεῖς* The Aëolic forms *ἄμμε ῥμμε* are uninflected as in the singular *μέ σε* and in case they are in respect to their termination older than *ημᾶ υμᾶς* they admit of derivation as direct from the Sanskrit *asmān yushmān* (for *asma ns yushma ns* § 236) by abrasion of the case suffix without intervention of a theme ΑΜΜΙ ΥΜΜΙ

333 In *asme ἄμμες* the simple vowel *a* is the character

istic element of the first person, for the rest occurs also in the second person $\gamma\upsilon\sigma\acute{\eta}$ *yushmé*, $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$. If, then, this *a* is also connected with the singular base *ma*, it would be requisite to assume an aphæresis of the *m*, which, however, would appear to be very old, from the coincidence of the Sanscrit, Zend, &c with the Greek and German, for the Gothic base *UNSA* or *UNSI* has been regarded by us, in § 166, as a transposition of *asma*. Pali and Prakrit *amha*, the *u* for *a* is to be explained by the influence of the transposed nasal (§ 66). But if the *a* of $\alpha\varsigma\mu\alpha$ *asma* is an abbreviation of *ma*, in the opposite case it would be identical with the demonstrative base *a*, and if, therefore, in this plural base, the “I” is actually formally expressed, I would then place great stress on the fact, that, in Sanscrit and Greek, the appended pronoun *sma*, or that which it has become in Greek, in the pronouns of the 1st and 2d person only occurs in the plural. For as *sma*, which also occurs isolated,* can be nothing else than a pronoun of the third person,† so would *a-smé*, as a copulative compound (Gramm Crit § 658), signify “I” and “they”, but *yushmé*, “thou” and “they”, so that the singular “I” and “thou” would be expressed by *a* and *yu*, the plural “they,” by *smé*; and this would be the most natural as well as the clearest and most perfect designation of the compound ideas “we” and “ye”. The ingress of the appended pronoun into the singular of the first and second persons, in Zend,

* Either with imperceptible meaning, or referring the action of the present to the further side of the past

† Pott may be right in explaining (Beil Ann 1833 Vol I p 324) *sma* from *sama*. I should, however, then hold “the same” to be the ancient meaning of *sama*, and the idea of similarity as a derived one, and also no longer explain *sama*, as in my Glossary, from *mā*, “to mow,” but regard it as the combination of the pronominal bases *sa* and *ma* (compare *ma*, “this,” from *i + ma*)

Pali Prakrit and German (§ 174) must then be ascribed to an abuse of later introduction. In the pronouns of the third person however the analogy of which may have had an effect on the abuse cited in the declension of the two first persons the union of two nay even of three pronouns of the same person into one whole is extraordinarily frequent and originally it seems betokened only increase of emphasis.

334 The syllable यु *yu* of युष्मे *yushmé* ye is probably a softening of *tu* which extends itself also to the dual to which *yua* serves as the theme*. The Greek σφω (σφῶι) however is more complete and represents the Sanscrit singular base *tia* with σ for *t* and φ for *v*. In the latter respect compare also σφεῖς and σφορ with the Sanscrit *sva* *yam* self and *sas* *uus* regarding which hereafter †. The Prakrit and Pali and several other Indian dialects have retained the *t* in the plural unaltered or restored hence Pali Prakrit तुम्हे *tumhe* for *tusmé*. In Gothic however by rejecting the *u* and exchanging the *m* for *v* *yu sma* has become *I-ZIA* and by weakening the *a* to *i* *I ZVI* (§ 167). The Lithuanian gives *IU* as the theme of the majority of cases in the dual and plural and in the first person *MU* to which however the nominative *mes* does not correspond. The appended pronoun स्म *sma* has been distinctly retained only in the genitive dual and locative plural—although it

* From *yu + a* with change of the *u* into *uv*, according to a universal euphonic law (Gramm Crit § 51).

† As I formerly took the σ in forms like χ σφ (see § 21B) for a euphonic addition, I thought also (Hist Phil Trans of the Ac of Litt for the year 1875 p 196) that I might explain σφω answering to the Latin *vos* and Sanscrit *vam* *vas* as corrupted by prefixing a σ allied to the φ. This opinion however stands in no further need of support from the information which I have since then gained regarding the σ of forms in σ φι and I accede so much the more willingly to the abovementioned opinion which was first expressed by Max Schmidt (De Pron Greek et Latin p 8).

is originally foreign to the dual, but, in the former case, to which the numeral is annexed, the *s*, and in the latter case the *m*, has fallen out, hence *mu-mû dwieyû*, "of us two", *yu-mû dwieyû*, "of you two"* , *mu-sûse*, "in us", *yusûse*, "in you"

335 It is, however, also very probable that the *s* in the Lithuanian nominative *mės*, "we," *yūs*, "ye," as well as the *s* of the Gothic *weis*, *yus*, is not the sign of the nominative, as it appears to be in the actual condition of the language, but the abbreviation of the syllable *sma*. This conjecture is raised almost to certainty by the Zend, in which, together with the 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀 *yûshēm* (see § 59), which rests on the Sanscrit युयम् *yūyam* (from *yû + am*, with euphonic *y*, § 43), occurs also युः *yūs*, the *s* of which is represented by Burnouf (*Yasna*, Notes, p 121), in which he is clearly right, as identical with the Sanscrit युश् *sh* of युश्मत् *yushmat* (ablative, and, in the beginning of compounds, representing the theme, see p 112) युः *yūs*, therefore, is an abbreviation of the Vêda युश्मे *yushmé*, and the *s* can in nowise pass for the sign of the nominative, as from a theme *yu*, according to the usual declension in the nominative vocative plural, must come either *yavô* or *yvô*. According to the pronominal declension, however, we have already seen 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀 *yûshēm* developed from the Sanscrit युयम् *yūyam*. In Lithuanian, *mės*, if *s* were the sign of case, would stand completely isolated as the masculine plural nominative†, and as to the German, that language has, from the earliest period, lost the sign of the case in the nominative plural,

* According to Mielcke, also *mama dwieyû* and *yumma dwieyû*, the latter with doubled *m*, the first of which is to be explained by assimilation of the *s*, as in the Æolic, ὕμμες

† Although in this pronoun there is no obvious distinction of gender, still the Sanscrit declension forms, viz *asme*, *asmân*, are masculine

while the *r* of *nir ihr* which corresponds to the Gothic *s* of *reis yus* has remained to this day which with other weighty reasons awards to this *r* likewise a destination other than that of denoting the relation of case

336 According to the principle of the Zend Lithuanian Gothic *yus yus* I explain also the Sanscrit नस् *nas* वस् *vas* which are used as co forms in the accusative dative and genitive of the two first persons the *s* of which however could not find any legitimate place in such different cases if by its origin it was destined to denote a case connection In the same way however that the Zend *yus* is the abbreviation of *yusme* so may नस् *nas* and वस् *vas* be deduced the accusative from *nasmán* *vasmán* in the dative and genitive from *nasmaḥyam* *nasmaḥlam* *vasmaḥyam* *vasmaḥlam* and the *s* therefore suits all the three cases exactly because it expresses none of them There remains after the dissolution of the rest of the appended pronoun *na* and *va* as the chief elements of personal definition from which have proceeded the dual secondary forms *ndu* and *vam* (for *idu*) The *n* of *na* however is a weakening of the *m* the high antiquity of which may be traced from the coincidence of the Greek Latin and Schvonic *va* however is an abbreviation of *vea* as *vinsati* twenty from *dvinsati*

337 The bases न *na* व *va* would lead us to expect in Latin *NU IU* (*no io* § 116) as themes *ni vi* as plural nominatives and *nos ios* as accusatives The circumstance however that *nos ios* stand in the nominative and that the final *s* is retained also in the possessives *nos ter ves ter* (for *ios ter*) must cause the *os* of *nos ios* in the accusative to appear to us in an entirely different light from that of *lupos* and the explanation which we have given of the *s* of the indisputably kindred Sanscrit forms नस् *nas* वस् *vas* must therefore extend also to that of *no s io s* objectionable as it may appear from the point of view

of the self-restricted Latin Grammar, when we seek in *nos* and *vos* a remnant of the appended pronoun *sma*, treated of in § 166 &c, which we also recognise robbed of its *s* in the appended syllable *met* (*egomet*, *memet*, *tumet*, *nosmet*, and others), which refers itself most closely to the Sanscrit plural ablative *a-smat*, *yu-śmat*, which is also employed by the language instead of the theme for all cases and numbers (§ 112), on which account the like free use of the Latin *met* cannot appear surprising. Moreover, I have elsewhere endeavoured to explain the Latin *immo* by assimilation from *i-smo*, and so to apportion the first part to the demonstrative base *i*, and the last to our *sma*.

338 We now turn to the Old Slavonic, where *nas* and *vas* as genitive and locative, are completely identical with the नस् and वस् *vas* of Sanscrit, which in that language are, indeed, excluded from the locative, but still hold the place of genitives. The monosyllabic nature of these forms has, in Slavonic, protected the old *a* as well as the final *s* (§ 255 *a l*), but here, also, this *s* cannot be looked upon as a case character, as, without exception, the terminations सस् *sām* and सुस् *su* have, in Old Slavonic, become *lh* (p 355, 6). The concurrent disinclination of so many languages to consider the *s*, in the common forms under discussion, as a sign of case, strengthens the evidence for each single individual language. As to the Sanscrit, however, applying in the dual the forms *nāu*, *vām* (for *vāu*, p 472, Rem 1.), in cases to which *āu* does not belong as the inflexion, in this point it is not supported by any of the European sister languages. We might still, however, admit the conjecture, that here, also, the *āu* is not a case-termination, but is derived from a different origin, and, in fact, to be so regarded, as that *nāu*, *vāu* (corrupted to *vām*) are exten-

* Comp *memor* for *mesmor* with Sanscrit *smar*, so, too, Pott (l c) explains the Latin *met*

sions of the plural *nas* *as* by lengthening the *a* and by resolving the *s* to *u* according to the analogy of § 206 For if a case termination *as* has become चो *au*—and in Zend every final *as* without distinction has become *ao*—it cannot be surprising that *nas* also has become *nau*, and then in *nau* a dual case termination is just as little contained as in *nas* a plural The dual however loves broader forms than the plural (compare § 206) and to this inclination may the lengthening of the *a* of *nas* *as* be ascribed But *nau* may however—and thus I much prefer—be regarded as a copulative compound from *na s* so that it would stand in the accusative for *nā smāu* in the genitive for *na smayos* according to the principle of the Veda *pitarā mātarau** father and mother *verbatim* ,

two fathers two mothers } According to this *nau* would* properly mean as accusative me and him as above (§ 333) *asme* for *masmē* I and they and *iam* for *iaū*—Zend *ꞢꞢꞢ* *iao*—would denote as accusative thee and him According to this principle of copulative composition is probably also *ā-vam* (for *a iāu*) we two to be regarded so that with a more retining designation of the third person it would literally mean he and I for *a* is a demonstrative base which is here lengthened to the dual form *ā* (§ 209) and *iam* (genitive and locative *ayos*) answers in respect to its base to *ayam* we p 462)†

339 At the base of the two first persons of the Greek dual he ΝΩ ΣΦΩ as themes which support the opinion that in नो *nau* चाम् *iam* (for *iaū*) to which they bear the same relation that *ὄκτω* does to *ashtū* the *au* is not a case termi

* See pp 298 299 and shorter Sanscrit Grammar § 589 Rem

† I formerly thought (l c § 274) the *a* of *av m* might be regarded as a strengthening prefix as in the middle of the 2d and 3d dual person But the above view answers better to the analysis which was given § 333 of the plural

nation For if ΝΩ, ΣΦΩ were the themes in Greek, the genitive and dative would necessarily be νοιν, σφοιν, as it would be unnatural that the long vowel, which, in the nominative and accusative, would be explicable according to the analogy of λύκω, from ΛΥΚΟ, should be retained before the termination ιν It would, it seems, be rightly assumed, that in the nominative and accusative, νῶι, σφῶι, are the original forms, and νῶ, σφῶ (for νῶ, σφῶ), abbreviations of them From νῶι, σφῶι spring, also, the possessives νῶϊττος, σφῶϊττος But how stands it with the very isolated Greek dual form νῶι, σφῶι? Max Schmidt (l c p 94) supposes therein a remnant of the Sanscrit neuter dual termination ι (§ 212) It would not be necessary, if this be so, to assume that in νῶι, σφῶι, a masculine and neuter dual termination are united, as ΝΩ and ΣΦΩ have already been made to pass as themes, from which νῶι, σφῶι, would be very satisfactorily explained by the addition of a single termination. Observe, however, that the pronouns of the first and second persons do not originally distinguish any genders, and occur in Sanscrit only with masculine terminations, that therefore a remnant of the lost neuter termination is less to be expected in these very pronouns in Greek than in any other word whatever Hence I prefer recognising in the ι of νῶι, σφῶι, a weakening of the dual-ending α, which originally pertained to the masculine and feminine, and which, in the common declension, has become ε (§ 209) According to this, the ι has the same relation to this ε and the Zend α that the Æolic πίσυρς has to τέσσαρες and चत्वारि *chathwāri* This opinion finds particular support from the fact that νῶι actually occurs for νῶ, as in the third person σφῶι, not σφῶι', and in the second person, also, the Grammarians assume σφῶι together with σφῶι (Buttmann Lex I 52)

340 We give here a connected general view of the declension of the pronouns of the two first persons, with the remark that the compared languages do not everywhere

agree with one another in regard of inflexion We select from the Greek where it is desirable for the sake of comparison the dialect forms which come nearest to the Sanscrit or the Zend

SINGULAR

	SANSKRIT	ZEND	GREEK	LATIN	GOOTHIC	LITH	OLD SCLAV
Nom	<i>aham</i>	<i>a em</i>	εγω	<i>ego</i>	<i>ik</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>
	<i>tiam</i>	<i>tum</i>	τ	<i>tu</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>tj</i>
Acc	<i>nu nu</i>	<i>ma m mā</i>	μ	<i>me</i>	<i>muk</i> ¹	<i>manen,</i>	<i>mya</i>
	<i>tū m tūa</i>	<i>th car m tūca</i>	τ	<i>te</i>	<i>thuk</i>	<i>tarcen</i>	<i>tya</i>
Instr	<i>maji</i>					<i>manim,</i>	<i>mnoyu</i>
	<i>traya</i>					<i>tarcim</i>	<i>toboyu</i>
Dat	<i>mahyam</i>		εμ ²	<i>mihē</i>	<i>mus</i> ³	<i>man</i>	<i>mnje m.</i>
	<i>me</i>	<i>m noi</i>	μ ⁴				
	<i>tubljā</i>		τ ²	<i>tibi</i>	<i>th s</i> ³	<i>taw</i>	<i>tebye ti</i>
	<i>thūc te</i>	<i>thucor, te tor</i>	το ⁴				
Abl	<i>mat</i>			<i>me(d)</i>			
	<i>mattas</i> ⁵		μ θe				
	<i>tiat</i>	<i>thicat</i>		<i>t d)</i>			
	<i>tiattas</i> ⁵		σ θe				
Gen	<i>ma a</i>	<i>mana</i>	μ ^	<i>e</i>	<i>mcina</i>	<i>n anens</i>	<i>i e e</i>
	<i>n</i>	<i>m moi</i>					
	<i>tara</i>	<i>tara</i>	τ ^	<i>tui</i>	<i>tleina</i>	<i>tarcens</i>	<i>tele</i>
	<i>tre te</i>	<i>thucor te tor</i>					
Loc	<i>maji</i>			<i>mei</i> ⁶		<i>manje</i>	<i>n nje</i>
	<i>trayi</i>	<i>ti ahm</i> ⁷		<i>tui</i> ⁶		<i>tarcijē</i>	<i>tebjē</i>

¹ See §§ 175 174² See § 2 2³ See § 174⁴ See

§ 320

⁵ At the base of the forms *mattas tiattas* lies the proper ablative *mat tiat* as theme (compare *rumm Crit* § 289) to which has been added the suffix *tas* which signifies the same as the ablative termination *t* and is also formally connected with it and to which the Greek *θ* corresponds

⁶ See § 200⁷ See § 174

DUAL

	SANSKRIT	ZEND	GREEK	GOOTHIC	LITH	OLD SCLAV
Nom	<i>tam</i> ¹		ω	<i>tif</i> ²	<i>muddu</i> ⁴	<i>m ta f tye</i>
	<i>jutam</i> ¹		σφω ²		<i>yudu</i> ⁶	
Accus	<i>ata</i>			<i>ugkio</i> ⁷	<i>mudu</i>	<i>m ta f tye</i> ⁸
	<i>nau</i>		ω ²			
	<i>juvam</i> ¹			<i>igkio</i> ⁷	<i>y du</i>	
	<i>tam</i> ¹	<i>t to</i>	σφω ²			

	SANSKRIT	ZEND	GREEK	GOthic	LITH	OLD SLAV
Inst	{ <i>āvābhyaṁ</i> , <i>yuvābhyaṁ</i> , <i>āvābhyaṁ</i> , <i>nāu</i> , <i>yuvābhyaṁ</i> , <i>vām</i> ,	.				<i>nama</i> , <i>namu</i> , <i>nama</i> , ¹ <i>nama</i> , ² <i>nama</i> , ³ <i>vama</i> , ⁴
Dat	{ <i>āvābhyaṁ</i> , <i>nāu</i> , <i>yuvābhyaṁ</i> , <i>vām</i> ,	<i>vāo</i> , <i>vāo</i> , <i>vāo</i> , <i>vāo</i> ,	<i>vāu</i> , ⁵ <i>vāu</i> , ⁶ <i>σφωι</i> , ⁷ <i>σφωι</i> , ⁸	<i>ugla</i> , <i>ugla</i> , <i>aggus</i> , <i>aggus</i> ,	<i>num dūiem</i> , <i>num dūiem</i> , <i>num dūiem</i> , <i>num dūiem</i> ,	<i>nama</i> , ⁹ <i>nama</i> , ¹⁰ <i>nama</i> , ¹¹ <i>vama</i> , ¹²
Abl	{ <i>āvābhyaṁ</i> <i>yuvābhyaṁ</i>	.				
Gen	{ <i>āvayōs</i> , <i>nāu</i> , <i>yuvayōs</i> , <i>vām</i> ,	<i>vāo</i> , <i>vāo</i> , <i>vāo</i> , <i>vāo</i> ,	<i>vāu</i> , <i>vāu</i> , <i>σφωι</i> , <i>σφωι</i> ,	<i>ugla</i> , <i>ugla</i> , <i>aggus</i> , <i>aggus</i> ,	<i>num dūiem</i> , <i>num dūiem</i> , <i>num dūiem</i> , <i>num dūiem</i> ,	<i>nama</i> , ¹³ <i>nama</i> , ¹⁴ <i>nama</i> , ¹⁵ <i>vama</i> , ¹⁶
Loc	{ <i>āvayōs</i> , <i>yuvayōs</i> ,					<i>nama</i> , ¹⁷ <i>nama</i> , ¹⁸

¹ I regard the termination *ām* as a hardening of the common dual termination *āu* (before vowels *āv*), and I would call attention to the frequent interchange of *v* and *m* (§ 63, compare p 111) This hardening has not in the 1st person, extended into the secondary form, and in the 2d person the Zend *vāo* speaks for an older Sanskrit form *vāu* for *vām* The Zend form *vāo* occurs in the 34th chapter of the *Ivashne*, and appears, also, to stand as nominative However, the Zend is not wanting in an analogous form to the Sanskrit dual base *yuva*, for that which Anquetil, in his Glossary, writes *icouāhem*, and renders by *vous dūiem*, ought probably to be *ἡγῶνῶν* *yavāhēm*, and is clearly an analogous dual genitive (p 473 Rem.) to the plural gen *ἡγῶνῶν* *yūsmāhēm*, which Anquetil likewise considers as nominative ² See § 339 ³ The *t* clearly belongs to the number two (theme *TTVA*), which, in Lithuanian, is retained through all the cases ⁴ Feminine *muddwi* ⁵ The distinction of the genders has been introduced, contrary to the original principle, through the analogy of the common dual (see § 273), as the Old Slavonic, too, in the dual personal terminations, which, in Sanskrit, Zend, and Greek, mark the genders just as little as the other numbers distinguish the feminine from the masculine by the termination *ye* (= *ἔ*, § 155 *e*) ⁶ Feminine *yudwi* ⁷ See § 169 ⁸ The comparison with the Sanskrit principal form regards the case termination, that with the secondary form the theme

PLURAL

	SANSKRIT	ZEND	GREEK	LATIN	GOOTHIC	LITH	OLD SLAV
Nom	va ja i	iaem			reis		
	asme ¹		μμες	no. ²	rei ⁴	mēs ⁴	mj
	y yam	ji s' em					
	yushme ¹	yi s	υμμες ¹	ros ²	yus ⁴	y s ⁴	ry
Accus	asman		ἄμμε		unri ⁵	mus	nj
	na	no		nos ²			
	yushman		μμε		izris ⁵	yus	ij
	ras	ro		ros ¹			
Inst.	asm ibl is			nobis		tu mi s	namj
	yush i b' is			lobis		yu s	rai i
Dat.	asmabhja i		μμ ()		i isis	n i n i s	namj
	nas	nu		nob s			namj
	yi s' na b' l jam	yusma i' ja	μμ ()		i ri s	yi n i	ra i
	ia i			iol			ra i
Abl	a. mat			nob s			
	yus' n at	yus nat		lobis			
	asmakam ⁶	al mu kem	αμμεω		unara m i s		
Gen	nas	nō		nostrj			nas
	jus' m kam	yus i d' ke n	μμεω		unara ji i		
	ras	rō		estri			ra
Loc	as i us					mus se	na
	y shmānu					yu se	ia

See § 332

See § 170

² See § 337

⁴ See § 335

⁵ See § 174

Remark — Max Schmidt rightly takes the forms *asmākam yushmākam* for possessives and Rosen has since confirmed his view (Journal of Education July—Oct 1834 p 348) by the Veda direct *युष्मिन् कर्मि जतिमि yushmā kābhur ulubhis iestris auxilij*) We must therefore regard *asmākam yushmākam* as singular neuters which are as it were petrified and have thus lost the power of being governed according to the gender number and case of their substantive In the two first respects, they may be compared with numeral expressions like पञ्च *pancha* five which in the Greek *πεντε* and Latin *quinque* has become completely indeclinable and

therefore exactly like *asmákam*, *yushmákam*, Zend *ahmákēm*, *yúsmákēm*, and the dual form mentioned at p 472, Rem 1., *yavákēm*. It is clear that the Latin forms, also, *nostrī*, *nostrum*, *vestrī*, *vestrum*, belong to the possessive, and for *nostrum*, *vestrum*, are used also *nostrorum*, *vestrorum* (Schmidt, p 10). As, then, *unsara*, *izvara*, stand altogether isolated in Gothic as genitives, it is, in my opinion, much more natural to derive them from the possessive bases of the same sound which form, in the nominative singular masculine, *unsar*, *izvar* (see § 292 Rem) than, on the contrary, to deduce the possessives from the unexplained genitives of the personal pronoun, so that they would be without any derivative suffix whatever, which is opposed to the common laws for the derivation of words. I most prefer regarding *unsara*, *izvara*, and the analogous dual forms as singular and dual neuters, like the Sanscrit *asmákam*, *yushmákam*, and with an antiquated retention of the *a* of the base, which in *daur* for *daura* (§ 153) has disappeared. Ought, also, the singular genitives to be viewed in this light? for *meina*, *theina*, *seina*, are possessive bases as well as the genitives of the personal pronouns, and if the former had proceeded from the latter, the addition of a suffix might have been expected. Perhaps even in Sanscrit the expressions *mama*, *tava*, which are far removed from all the forms of genitives, are originally possessives, from which, after they were no longer recognised as such, sprang the secondary forms *māmaka*, *tāvaka*, as *bālaka* comes, without alteration of meaning, from *bāla*, "a boy". Observe, also, the surprising accordance between the Greek possessive base *TEO*, from *TEFO*, and the Sanscrit genitive *tava*. The form *σός*, however, has scarcely proceeded from *σοῦ*, but from the more entire *τεός*, by syncope and exchange of the *τ* with *σ*. In regard to the replacing of the genitive of pronouns without gender by the corresponding possessives, it deserves further to be remarked; that, in Hindústáni, the forms, which

are represented in both numbers of all declinable words as genitives are shewn to be unmistakable possessives by being governed by the gender of the following substantive. The pronouns of the first and second person have in the masculine *ra* in the feminine *ri* as the possessive suffix other words in the masculine *ka* feminine *ki* and the latter answers to the Sanscrit *ka* in *asmāka yushmaka mamaka tatāka*. In Hindustani, therefore *merī mā terī mā* is literally not *mei mater tui mater* but *mea mater tua mater*, and the feminine termination *i* answers to the Sanscrit feminine formation (§ 119). In the masculine the possessives under discussion are sounded *mēra tēra* plural *hamārā tumhārā*. In this it is remarkable that the formative suffix *ra* agrees with the Gothic *ra* of *unsara iurara* dual *uglara iggvara*. In respect also to the transposition of the nasal *tumhara* for *tuhmarā* from *tusmara* is similar to the Gothic *uglara unsara iggvara*.

PRONOUNS OF THE THIRD PERSON

341 The Sanscrit is deficient in a simple substantive pronoun of the third person devoid of gender that it however originally possessed such a pronoun is proved not only by the unanimous evidence of the European cognate languages but especially by the circumstance that in Zend 𐬨𐬀 *he* and 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *hoi* (also 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *se* according to § 55) and in Prakrit *se* are used as the genitive and dative of the third person in all genders* and indeed in the direct sense and in form analogous to the secondary forms of

* In Zend I remember only examples of the kind where the pronoun mentioned refers to masculines but in Prakrit *se* is often found feminine e.g. *Urvasi* by Lenz pp 46 55 twice. Still I have not yet met with examples for *se* as dative, numerous as the examples of the genitive are. In Zend both cases occur and the dative indeed more frequently than the genitive.

the first and second person, Sanscrit मे *mé*, ते *té*, त्वे *tvé*, Zend
 𐬨𐬀 *mé* or 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *mōi*, 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *té* or 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 *tōi*, 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 *thuōi* (§ 329)
 In Sanscrit *sva*, lengthened to *své*, must be considered as the
 theme of this pronoun, as, according to § 326., *ma*, *má*, *tva*,
tvé, are the singular bases of the two first persons. From
 स्वे *své*, in combination with the nominative termination
am, (§ 326) comes स्वम् *svayam*, which means "self," and in
 the present state of the language is indeclinable in
 all cases, numbers, and genders. The form *va* prevails
 as the possessive, but is used not only for *suus*, but
 for *meus* and *tuus*, in which it is to be observed, that
 in the majority of the European cognate languages the
 possessive of the third person may be also used for the two
 first, and the Doric σφός corresponds as exactly as possible
 with the Sanscrit *sva-s*, while ΣΦΙ lies as theme at the base of
 the plural of the personal pronoun (σφκῖς, σφί-σι), with the old
a weakened to *i*, as in the plural of the two first persons (§ 332)
 The apparent agreement of the base with the second per-
 son in the dual is, then, to be explained thus, that in the latter
 the σ has proceeded from an older τ, but in the third person is
 primitive. In οἶ, οἱ, εἶ, for σφοῦ, σφοί, σφέ of which only
 the latter has been retained from σφοῦ, &c., the digamma,
 which may remain after σ in the form of φι, has been
 necessarily suppressed after the σ has become a rough
 breathing. Thus οἶ is similar to the Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *hōi* and
 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *hé* (for *hvōi*, *hvē*), and the Prakrit से *sé* for *svē*. A
 similar rejection of the *v*, together with a weakening of the
 old *a* to *i*, shews itself in the Gothic *sei-na*, *si-s*, *si-k*, for
svei-na, *sui-s*, *sui-k* (see § 327). On the other hand,
 the *v* has remained in the adverb *své*, as mentioned at
 § 150, which evidently belongs to a theme *SVA*, as *hvē* from
HVA, *thē* from *THA*. As *é*, according to § 69, stands some-
 times for the long *a*, so these forms are, I c., explained as
 instrumentals. They might, however, be regarded as loca-
 tives, which have been pointed out at §. 294 Rem 2, with

an *e* termination The Lithuanian and Old Slavonic in this pronoun follow exactly the analogy of the second person and distinguish it from the latter only by the initial *s* for *t* but like the Latin Greek and German dispense with the nominative as they are only used reflectively and use the singular also instead of the plural From the Latin besides *sui suus* perhaps also *spontis sponte* from *SPONT* are to be adduced here since according to all probability the meaning self or the self selfness is the primitive *sp* however may be regarded as the modification of *sv* (comp § 50) as *spiro* in my opinion is connected with *śvas* to breathe The Doric ψη for σφη and the Latin *pse* of *ipse* which should be declined *gus psius ei-pu* &c for *ipsius ipsi* are formed in like manner by transposition As regards the termination *nt* of *SPONT* it might be carried back to the Sanscrit suffix *tant* regarding which see § 321 It may here be further remarked that in Prakrit the pronoun of the second person occurs amongst other forms in that of पइ *pai* and पणि *pam* (Urvasi pp 61 69) so that the *t* of *tia* is suppressed but the *ι* hardened to *p* Compare in the former respect, the Doric φη for σφη *vas ias* for *tias tias* (§ 336) and in both respects the Latin *porta* which in this way may be compared with द्वार *dvār* a door (द्वार)

342 We here give a connected view of the declension of the pronoun of the third person devoid of gender in the singular which excepting in the case of the Greek supplies also the place of the plural

	PRAK	ZEND	GREEK	LAT	GOth	LITH	OLD SLAV
Accusative			σφε <i>ē</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>sik</i>	<i>suven</i> ¹	<i>syā</i>
Instrument						<i>sawim</i> ¹	<i>soboyū</i> ¹
Dative	<i>sē</i>	<i>hu</i>	<i>hoi oi</i>	<i>sibi</i>	<i>siz</i>	<i>san</i> ¹	<i>sebye st</i> ¹
Genitive	<i>se</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>hoi ou</i>	<i>sui</i>	<i>seina</i>	<i>sawens</i> ¹	<i>sebe</i> ¹
Locative						<i>sawtye</i> ¹	<i>sebye</i> ¹

Compare § 330 It is not, however necessary to assume, that in the

second person, the Lithuanian theme *taw* and the Slavonic *teb* have arisen from the Sanscrit genitive *tava*, but these forms may be regarded as transpositions of the base त्व *tvā*. Both explanations agree in the main, as the syllable *tav* belongs to the base in the Indian genitive तव *tava* also, whether we derive it by Guna from *tu*, whence तुभ्यम् *tu-bhīyam*, "to thee," or regard it as the transposed form of त्व *tvā*. In the reflexive forms given above, *saw* and *seb* are based on the same principle as the *taw* and *teb* just mentioned, and hence they may be derived, by transposition, from the Indian base *sva*, or we may suppose a genitive *sava* to have existed in Sanscrit also, which language, it may be concluded, originally possessed a complete declension of this pronoun. The Gothic *sibya*, "kinsman," theme *sibyan*, Old High German, *sippa*, "relationship," "kith," agrees, in a striking manner, with the Slavonic base *seb*, and it would not be surprising if the "kinsman" has been designated as 'the man belonging to him,' "his," and that, therefore, the original *v* of these Gothic forms has been hardened, as in Slavonic, to *b*. The Gothic *svēa*, theme *svēsa*, "property" is also a derivative from this pronoun.

343 The base त *ta*, feminine त *tā*, signifies, in Sanscrit, "he," "this," and "that." The Zend form is identical with the Sanscrit the medial, however, frequently occurs instead of the tenuis, as in the accusative singular masculine, in which the place of $\xi\xi\phi$ *tēm* is commonly supplied by *dem*, or, still more frequently, by *dim*. In Greek and German this pronoun has assumed the functions of the article, which is not found in the Sanscrit and Zend, nor in the Latin, Lithuanian, and Slavonic. The bases TO, Gothic *THA* (§ 87), feminine *TĀ*, TH, Gothic *THŌ* (§ 69), correspond regularly with the Sanscrit-Zend *ta*, *tā*, with which the Lithuanian demonstrative base *TA*, nominative masculine *tas*, "this," feminine *tā*, is completely identical. The Old Slavonic base is, as in Greek, in the masculine and neuter *to*, in the feminine *ta* (§ 255 *a*), but in the nominative masculine drops the vowel, hence *t*, *ta*, *to*, "this." This pronoun does not occur, in its simple state, in Latin, with the exception of the adverbial accusative forms *tum*, *tunc* (like *hunc*), *tam*, *tan-dem*, and *tamen*. The latter resembles surprisingly the Sanscrit locative तस्मिन् *ta-smīn*.

in this (§ 201) only that the *s* is dropped as in the Lithuanian *tame* (p 176) on which account I am inclined to replace the derivation I formerly gave of it by transposition from the Greek *μετοι* by that which I now offer and which is less remote. Moreover in Latin the derivative forms *talis tantus tot totidem toties totus* spring from this pronoun and will be treated of hereafter. It appears however to be declined in the compound *iste* of which the first member *is* is either to be regarded as a petrified nominative masculine the case sign of which unconsciously of its derivation is retained in the oblique cases—*istius* for *gustius* compare our *jeidermanns*—or which seems to me less probable the *s* is a pure phonetic affix adopted on account of the favourite combination of *s* with *t* (compare §§ 93 190)

344 In the same way that *iste* is compounded in Latin so also in Sanskrit and Zend the base *ta* combines with another pronoun prefixed to it in fact with *é* and thus forms एत *éta* thus that Zend *अतो a'ta* (§ 28). The nominative singular is in Sanskrit एष *ésha* एषा *éshā* एत *éta*, in Zend *अेशō a'eshō* *अेशū a'eshū* *अतो a'ta*. In Greek *αυτος* is a similar compound the first syllable of which *av* will subsequently be remarked upon. Thus *αυτος* is again combined with the article as a prefix to it and forms οὗτος *αυτη τουτο* for ο *αυτος* η *αυτη* το-*αυ-το*. There are several ways in which οὗτος *τουτο* may be supposed to have arisen in the first place as *h* οὗτος τ οὗτο by suppressing the vowel of the article and weakening the α of the diphthong *av* to *o* both changes being made to prevent the whole word from being too ponderous for α is the heaviest of the three representatives of the Indian *अ* *a* (*α c o*) and for this reason *av* appears to be especially the representative of the Viddhi diphthong *औ du** while for *ओ* *ō* = *a + u** is

* See Vocalismus, Rem 2 p 193 &c

found either *cu* or *ou*. In the feminine form *αὕτη*, if we distribute it thus, *h'-αὕτη*, the diphthong remains unweakened, as in *ταὐτό*. But *αὕτη* may also be derived from *ᾱ-ύτη*, and the loss of the first element of the diphthong may be assumed, the gender would then be expressed in both members of the compound, and a better distinction would be made from the masculine and neuter base *τοῦτο*. But if, as appears to me preferable, we make the latter accord with the explanation, which has just been given of the feminine form, the *o* of *ou* will then be ascribed to the article, and we shall likewise assume that the *α* of *au* is dropped; thus, *ὁ-ῦτος, το-ῦτο* Max. Schmidt (*De Pronomine Gr. et Lat* p.38) sees in *οὔτος* only the article compounded with itself, and assumes that *υ* is inserted, thus *οὔτος* for *ὄτος*, *αὕτη* for *ᾱτη*. He adduces, in support of his view, *ὄσοῦτος, τοιοῦτος, τηλικούτος*, which he supposes to have admitted a similar insertion. I am of opinion, on the contrary, that these forms do not contain the simple base of the article *TO* as the last element of their composition, but *ἄΥTO*; for why should not this pronoun, though itself already a compound, admit, just as well as the article, of being combined with words preceding it? I do not agree with Max Schmidt in explaining the adverbs *ἐνταῦθα*, *ἐντεῦθεν*, for *ἐνθαῦθα*, *ενθεῦθεν*, Ionic *ἐνθαῦτα*, *ἐνθεῦτεν*, by the simple duplication of the suffixes *θα*, *θεν*, but I consider them to be compounded of two adverbs of similar formation. Though *αὔθα*, *αὔθεν*, from the pronominal base *ἄΥ*, of which more hereafter, have not been retained in use by themselves, still I look upon *ἐνταῦθα* as the combination of *ἐνθ' + αὔθα*, and *ἐντεῦθεν* as that of *ἐνθεν + αὔθεν*. In order to avoid the concurrence of two breathings in the two syllables which meet one another, the breathing of the former syllable is suppressed, or, as in the Ionic dialect, that of the latter is dropped. It may remain a question, whether the *e* of *εὔθεν* is the thin sound of the *α* of *αὔθεν*, in which case the preceding adverb has lost

not only its *i* but its *e* also or whether *αὐθις* has been weakened by the loss of its *α*. In the latter case *εἰταῦθα* may be divided into *εἰτα ὕθα*. It is at least more natural to suppose the combination of two adverbs and the weakening of the latter on account of the ponderous nature of the compound than to assume the mere doubling of the formative suffix and the insertion of a redundant *υ* for neither part of this assumption can be supported by analogous phenomena elsewhere.

31. In the nominative singular masculine and feminine the Sanscrit substitutes—and in this the Gothic remarkably coincides with it—for the T sound of the pronoun under discussion an *s* which in *Zend* according to § 53 becomes *wh* and in Greek the rough breathing, hence Sanscrit *sa śa śa* Gothic *sa sa* *thata* *Zend* *h's hā* *lat* Greek *o a to*. The Old Latin has introduced into the accusative this originally purely subjective pronominal base *sam* for *eum* and *sam* for *eum* also *sapias* as nominative for *sa ipia**. As this *s* is excluded from the neuter we have found in it (§ 131) a satisfactory explanation of the nominative sign the *s* of which is likewise foreign to the neuter. A remnant of the old *s* of the base is still preserved by the Greek in the adverbs *σημερον* and *σηντες* though as these compounds express an accusative relation not that of a nominative they accord with the use of the Sanscrit language less than the Attic forms *τιμερον* *τηντες* as *πτα* is the general theme but *π sa* only that of the nominative. The first member of the said compounds occurs in the primary form or theme the final *o* of which (= *π a*) has been changed into *e* having been melted down with the following *e* and *η* thus *τηντες* *σηντες* from *τε ετες* *σε ετες* for *το ετες* *σο ετες*, *τημερον* *σημερον* from *τε ημερον* *σε ημερον*.

* Accusative plural *sos*, cf. Max Schmidt 'De Lion mine Cr et Lat' p. 11, 12.

for *το-ημερον, σο-ημερον* These adverbs correspond to the Sanscrit adverbial compounds (*Avyayî-bhâta*), which contain a substantive, assuming an accusative neuter form as their last member, e.g. यथाश्रद्धम् *yathâ-shraddham*, "according to troth," from श्रद्धा *shraddhâ*, feminine "troth"

346 The Greek falls into an abuse, in extending the substitution of the rough breathing for the T sound also to the nominative plural, as in *οί, αί*, while the cognate languages preserve the Doric-epic forms *τοί, ταί* as the original Sanscrit *ते té, तस्य tás*, Zend *هُوَ tē, هُوَ tâo*, Gothic *thai, thôs* (compare § 228)

347 With reference to the masculine nominative singular, we have, moreover, to remark the remarkable coincidence of the Greek, Gothic, and Sanscrit in retaining the case-sign, so that *ὁ* for *ὅς* corresponds to the Sanscrit-Gothic *sa* for *sas* The latter appears analogous to the interrogative *hvas*, "who?" in Gothic (§ 135) In Sanscrit, however, the suppression of the case-sign is not quite universal, for before a stop we find *सः sah* euphonic for *sas* (§ 22 and Gramin Cit § 75 a), and before words beginning with *a* *सो sô*, according to a general principle of sound from *sas*, by melting down the *s* to *u*, and regularly contracting the *a + u* to *ô* (§ 2) On the form *sô* is based the Zend *هُوَ hô*, the *ô* of which is retained, so that *ها ha* which might be expected for *sa*, does not occur Although, then, *هُوَ hô* is strikingly similar to the Greek *ὁ*, still the relationship of the two forms cannot be looked for in the *o*-sound, as the Greek *ὁ* rests on the suppression of the case-sign and usual substitution of *o* for *अ a* (§ 4), while the Zend *hô* is to be referred to the existence of a case-sign (*u* for *s*), and its contraction with the *a* of the base to *ô*

348 The reason why this pronoun gladly dispenses with the usual nominative sign *s* may be, partly, because the said case-sign has itself proceeded from the base *sa*,

and that *sa* does not admit of being re combined with itself and partly—and this perhaps is the surer ground—that the pronouns in general are so strongly and vividly personified by themselves, that they are not in need of a very energetic and animated sign of personality for which reason although अहम् *aham* I त्वम् *tam* thou एवम् *ayam* thus, अयम् *ayam* self have a termination it is not that of the usual nominative but they appear as neuters in the more objective or accusative garb while अस्मि *asmī* in *f* that if its final diphthong is combined with the *u* of the oblique case अस्मि *amu* (compare § 15) is completely devoid of termination and merely adopts the Vriiddhi augment of the final vowel of the base.* The Latin obeys the same principle in the pronouns *hic ille iste ipse* which are deprived of the nominative sign and for which we might have expected *huc-e* (compare *huc e* from *huc me*), *illuc istuc* and *ipsum* which latter actually occurs and in the same language the relative *qui* is distinguished from the more energetic interrogative *quis* by the absence of the nominative sign. In agreement with this principle stands also the circumstance that in Sanscrit the masculine pronominal bases in *a* in the plural nominative have not like other words *as* for their termination but in like manner suppress the case suffix and extend the *a* of the base to *ā* by the admixture of a purely phonetic *r* hence ऋत from which the dative and ablative *t-bhyas* genitive *t-āśm* locative *t-śhu*. It has been before pointed out (§ 278) what relation the cognate languages bear to Sanscrit in this respect. And it may be observed further that the pronouns of the first and second person do not admit in the plural the termination *as* but

* The belief in this actually being the case is supported by the Itali in which the form *asu* without Vriiddhi corresponds to the Sanscrit *asīu*

employ वयम् *vay-am*, यूयम् *yūi-y-am*, with a neuter singular form, and in the Vêda dialect अस्मे *asmê*, युष्मे *yushmê*, after the usage of pronouns of the third person. The Greek forms ἄμυς, ὕμυς, ἡμῆς, ὑμῆς appear, therefore, so much the more to be a more recent adaptation to the ordinary mode of formation, and what (§§ 335 337) has been said regarding the *s* of the Lithuanian *mės*, *yūs*, the Gothic *ies*, *yus*, and the Latin *nos*, *vos* obtains additional confirmation from the present remark. The pronominal base अमु *amu*, "that," also avoids, in the masculine, the nominative-termination *as*, and forms *amī*, *ill*, which serves as a theme to the oblique plural cases, with the exception of the accusative, hence अमीभिस् *amī-bhis*, अमीभ्यस् *amī-bhyas*, अमीषाम् *amī-shām*, अमिषु *amī-shu*. These forms confirm the opinion that the nominative *tē* also, and the like, are void of inflexion.

349. We here give a general view of the entire declension of the pronoun under discussion. From the Latin we adduce the compound *is-te*, as the simple form does not occur. The Zend forms in brackets I have not met with, but have formed them according to the analogy of the compound अतः *at-ta*, and other pronouns of the third person, with which we may suppose the base अत *ta* to have originally agreed in inflexion. Observe, also, the occasional weakening of the *t* to *d*, mentioned in § 343. Those cases of the Lithuanian and Slavonic to which * is prefixed, etymologically do not belong to this place, but to the compound तया *tya*, mentioned in § 353.

SINGULAR

MASCULINE

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	Gothic	Lith	Old Slav
N <i>sa, sah, só,</i>	<i>hō,</i>	<i>ὁ,</i>	<i>is-TE,</i>	<i>sa,</i>	<i>tas,</i>	<i>t̃.</i>
Ac <i>tam,</i>	<i>tēm,</i>	<i>τόν,</i>	<i>is-TUM,</i>	<i>thana,</i>	<i>tan,</i>	<i>t̃</i>
I. <i>tēna,</i>	<i>(tā),</i>				<i>tū, tūmi,</i>	<i>*tyem</i>

SINGULAR

MASCULINE

Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	Coptic	Lith	Old Sl
D <i>tasmāi</i> , ¹	(<i>tahmāi</i>), ¹	τῷ	is <i>TĪ</i> ²	<i>thamma</i> ³	<i>tam</i> ⁴	<i>tomu</i> ⁵
Ab <i>tasmāt</i>	(<i>tahmāt</i>)		is <i>TO(D)</i>			
G <i>tasya</i>	(<i>tahd</i>) ⁶	τοῦ	is <i>TĪUS</i> ⁷	<i>this</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>togo</i> ⁸
L <i>tasmīn</i> ⁹	(<i>tahmīn</i>) ¹⁰		<i>tamen</i> ¹¹		<i>tamē</i> ¹¹	<i>tom</i> ¹²

NEUTER

N Ac	<i>tot</i> ¹³	<i>tot</i> ¹³	το	is <i>TUD</i> ¹³	<i>thata</i> ¹⁴	<i>tai</i> ¹⁵	<i>to</i> ¹⁶
------	--------------------------	--------------------------	----	-----------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------

The rest like the Masculine

FEMININE

N	<i>sā</i>	<i>hā</i>	α, η	is <i>TA</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>
Ac	<i>tām</i>	(<i>taum</i>),	τῇ	is <i>TAM</i>	<i>thō</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>tu</i> ¹⁷
I	<i>tayā</i>	(<i>tahmya</i>) ¹⁸				<i>ta</i>	<i>toyā</i>
D	<i>tasyāi</i> ¹⁹	(<i>tanhāi</i>) ²⁰	τῇ	is <i>TĪ</i>	<i>thai</i> ²¹	<i>tai</i>	<i>toi</i>
Ab	<i>tasyās</i> ¹⁹	(<i>tanhās</i>) ²⁰		is <i>TA(D)</i>			
G	<i>tasyās</i> ¹⁹	(<i>tanhā</i>) ²⁰	τῆς	is <i>TĪUS</i> ²²	<i>thi</i>	<i>ōs</i> ¹⁹	<i>tōs</i> ²³
L	<i>tasyām</i> ¹⁹	(<i>tahmya</i>) ²⁴				<i>toye</i> , ²⁵	<i>toi</i>

¹ See § 166

² *Isti* and similar pronominal forms differ from the common second declension to which they belong in this particular that they preserve the case termination in preference to the final vowel of the base thus *isti* for *istoi* opposed to *lupo* for *lupoi*

³ Regarding *mm* from *sm* see § 170 and with reference to the termination § 356 Rem 3

⁴ § 176

⁵ § 267 *sub finem*

⁶ We might also expect *ἡσῶν* *tahē* and *ἡσῶν* *tahē* according to the analogy of *ἡσῶν* *ahē* which often occurs as well as *ahē* (from the base *a*) and *ἡσῶν* *anhē* and similar forms (§§ 41 and 56 a)

⁷ § 189

⁸ § 269

⁹ § 120

¹⁰ § 143

¹¹ § 176 197

¹² The

m comes from the appended pronoun *sma* (comp § 267 end) in the instrumental *tycm* on the contrary it belongs to the case sign (§ 266)

¹³ §§ 155 156

¹⁴ § 155 and 231

¹⁵ § 157

¹⁶ The

Slavonic *to* and similar pronominal neuters are to be explained like the Greek through the suppression of a *T* sound while substantive and adjective forms in *o*—with the exception of those from bases in *s* (as *n lo* from *NEBES*)—have lost a final *n* which the Greek retains both

according to the euphonic law in § 255 *l.* ¹⁷ § 266 ¹⁸ § 171
¹⁹ § 172 ²⁰ § 172 Note *. ²¹ §. 356 Rem 3 ²² If we
 assume that the termination *yus*, peculiar to the pronouns, which in
 § 189 is considered as the transposed form of the Sanscrit termination
syā, belonged originally to the feminine, and from that gender has been
 unorganically transferred to the others, then (*is*)*lūs*—from (*is*)*ti-yus*, for
 (*is*)*ta-yus*—would agree tolerably well with the Sanscrit *tasyās*, with the
 loss of the *s* preceding *y*—in this resembling the Slavonic *tayn* for *tasya*,
 § 271, and shortening the last *ā* but one, after which from the short *a*,
 as is so frequently done before a final *s*, an unorganic *u* is formed
²³ From *tasyas*, § 271. ²⁴ § 202 ²⁵ § 268 Rem *

DUAL

MASCULINE

	Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Lith	Old Slav
N Ac	<i>tāu, tā</i> , ¹	(<i>tāo, tā</i>),	τῶ,	<i>tū</i> ,	<i>ta</i>
I D Ab	<i>tābhyaṁ, (tābhyā)</i> ,		D τῶν, ²	D <i>tiem</i> , ³	I D <i>+tyema</i> ⁴
G L	<i>tayōs,</i>	(<i>tayō</i>), ⁵	G τῶν,	G <i>tū</i> ,	<i>toyū</i> ⁶

NEUTER

N.Ac	<i>tē</i> , ⁷	(<i>tē</i>),	τῶ,	<i>tye</i> , ⁸
------	--------------------------	----------------	-----	---------------------------

The rest like the Masculine

FEMININE

N.Ac	<i>tē</i> , ⁹	(<i>tē</i>),	τῇ,	<i>tie</i> ,	<i>tye</i> ⁸
I D Ab	<i>tābyāṁ, (tābyā)</i> ,		D τῇν,	<i>tom</i> , ³	<i>*tyema</i> . ⁴
G.L.	<i>tayōs,</i>	.	G. τῇν,	G <i>tū</i> ,	<i>toyū</i>

¹ Vāda form, see § 208 ² § 221 ³ § 215 ⁴ § 273,
 where, however, the reason for the *ye*, instead of the *to* be anticipated *o*,
 was incorrectly assigned. The truth is, *obyema* is founded on the Sanscrit
 base उभय *ubhaya*, nom *ubhayam*, “both”, and with regard to the designa-
 tion of the number two, we must observe, that the Lithuanian, also, forms
 some cases from an extended theme in *ia* euphonic *ie*, viz the gen *dwiey-ū*
 and the dative *dwie-m*, the former, with regard to its *y* before the case-ter-
 mination, agrees with the Slavonic *dwoy-ū* and Sanscrit *dvay-ōs* (§ 273
 Note *), the theme of both cases is *dwie*, from *dwa*, and is founded, in
 my opinion, on the Sanscrit द्व *dvaya*, “a pair,” with the suppression of
 the *a* preceding the *y*. On this, then, is based, also, the Slavonic

diyem as also *tyem* on the compound pronominal base त्वा *tya* (§ 303)

⁵ § 254 Rem 1

§ 273 Note *

⁷ § 212

⁸ § 213

⁹ § 213

PLURAL

MASCULINE

	Sanskrit	Zend	Greek	Latin	Gothic	Lith	Old Slav
N	<i>tē</i> ¹	<i>te</i> ¹	τοί οί ¹	is <i>TĪ</i> ¹	<i>thai</i> ¹	* <i>tie</i> ¹	<i>ti</i> ¹
Ac	<i>tun</i>	(<i>tan</i>) ²	τους	is <i>TŌS</i>	<i>thans</i>	<i>tus tus</i>	<i>ty</i> ³
I	<i>tais</i> ⁴	(<i>tus</i>)				<i>tais</i> ⁴	* <i>tyem</i> ⁴
D Ab	<i>tebhya</i> s	<i>taēbyo</i>	s Loc	is <i>TĪS</i> ⁵	<i>thaim</i> ⁶	* <i>tiem(u)s</i> ⁷	* <i>tyem</i> ⁸
G	<i>tēshum</i> ⁹	(<i>taeshanm</i>) ¹⁰	τῶν	is <i>TŌRUM</i> ³	<i>thizē</i> ⁸	<i>tū</i>	<i>tyekh</i> ¹¹
L	<i>tēshu</i>	(<i>taeshra</i>)	D τοῖσι			<i>tūse</i>	<i>tyekh</i> ¹¹

NEUTER

N Ac	<i>tun</i>	<i>tā</i> ¹² <i>ta</i> ¹³	τα ¹³	is <i>TA</i> ¹³	<i>tho</i> ¹³		<i>ta</i> ¹⁴
------	------------	---	------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	--	-------------------------

The rest like the Masculine

FEMININE

N	<i>tās</i>	(<i>tāo</i>)	ταί αι ¹	is <i>TAE</i> ¹	<i>thos</i>	<i>tos</i>	<i>ty</i> ¹⁵
Ac	<i>tās</i>	(<i>tuo</i>)	τας	is <i>TĀS</i>	<i>thos</i>	<i>tas</i>	<i>ty</i> ¹⁵
I	<i>tābhis</i>	(<i>tābis</i>)				<i>tomis</i>	* <i>tyem</i> ¹⁶
D Ab	<i>tabhya</i> s	(<i>tabyō</i>)	s L	is <i>TĪS</i>	<i>thaim</i> ¹⁶	<i>tom(u)s</i> ⁷	* <i>tyem</i> ⁸
G	<i>tāsum</i> ⁹	(<i>tāonhanm</i>) ¹⁷	ταῶν τῶν	is <i>TĀRUM</i> ⁹	<i>thizō</i> ⁹	<i>tu</i>	<i>tyekh</i> ¹¹
L	<i>tāsu</i>	<i>tahoa</i>	D ταισι			<i>tosa</i>	<i>tyekh</i> ¹¹

¹ §§ 278-348 Regarding the Lithuanian *tie* see also § 235 Note * and for the Slavonic *ti* § 274 ² § 230 ³ § 275 ⁴ § 219

The surprising agreement between the Sanskrit तैस *t* is and Lithuanian *tais* is so far fortuitous as that the Sanskrit has rejected *i* s *bh* and the Lithuanian the *m* derived from *b* independently of each other. The Slavonic *tyem* from *tyemis* (§ 277) points to a Lithuanian *ta mis* and is analogous to the Veda forms like अस्तेभिस् *astebhis* mentioned in § 219, and to the common pronominal instrumental एभिस् *ebhis* through *thus*, from the base त्वा *It* : however doubtful whether the *ye* of *tyem* is founded on the corruption of the Sanskrit ए *ē* of a Veda form which may be supposed to have existed *t ebhis*, according to § 255 *e* *oi* whether as I am more inclined to think this case like several others belongs to the compound base त्वा *tya*, to which, also is to be assigned the

singular instrumental *tyem*, as from the base *to* only *tom* could proceed, according to the analogy of *rabom*, from the base *rabo*. On the other hand, the locative *tyekh* is not to be referred here, as all *o* bases in this case have *ye* corresponding to the Sanscrit *é*, as, *rabyekeh*, from the theme *rabo*. Concurrent forms are wanting in the common declension for *tyekh*, it answers, however, to *तेशम्* *tēshām*, just as the locative of similar sound does to *तेशु* *tēshu*, and for it also, therefore, we do not have recourse to the pronoun compounded with *ya*, however natural it might appear from the point of view of the Grammar, which is limited to the Slavonic alone, that all the *ye*, which occur in this pronoun, are of the same origin.

⁵ From *istibus* for *istobus*, see § 244. ⁶ §§ 215 and 288 Rem 4. ⁷ §§ 215 and 235 Note*. ⁸ § 276. ⁹ § 248.

¹⁰ Comp *ἡρῶν* *uēshanm*, “*horum*,” from the base *a*, Vend. S. p. 230, and elsewhere (erroneously *sh* for *sh*, see §§ 51–52). ¹¹ § 281 Rem 6. ¹² § 234 Note†. ¹³ § 231. ¹⁴ § 274. ¹⁵ § 271.

¹⁶ This has found its way from the other genders into the feminine, where we should expect *thóm*, while in the masculine and neuter the *a* has its ancient fixed position (§ 288 Rem. 4). In Slavonic, all oblique plural cases are borrowed from the masculine, hence *tyem*, *tyem*, *tyekh*, for *tyam*, *tyam*, *tyakh*, or *tam*, *tam*, *takh*. ¹⁷ Compare the often-occurring *ἡρῶν* *āonhanm*, “*harum*” (§ 56^b), Sanscrit *āsām*, from the base *ā*. Polysyllabic bases in Zend shorten the feminine *ā* in the genitive plural, hence, not *āētāonhanm*, but *ἡρῶν* *āctanhanm* (according to § 56^a) answers to the Sanscrit *ētāsām*.

350 The weakening of the *t* to *d*, mentioned in § 343, which occasionally enters into the pronominal base *tá*, coincides with that which takes place in Greek in the appended particle *δέ*, which, when isolated, is used as a conjunction, and to which no more suitable origin can be assigned than the pronominal base *TO*. The weakening of the vowel *o* to *e* resembles that which occurs in the uninflected vocative of bases in *o* (§ 204), as also in the equally uninflected accusatives *μέ*, *σέ*, *έ*, (§ 326). The descent of the tenuis to the medial occurs also in Sanscrit, in the isolated neuter form *i-dam*, “this” and *a-das*, “that,” inasmuch as, in my opinion, this is the proper distribution* which with

* Cf Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words, p. 13

reference to *i-dam* is supported also by the Latin *i dem qui dam*. In Sanscrit इदम् *i dam* and अदम् *a das* are limited to the nominative and accusative neuter which are the same in sound and are deficient in the formation of the other cases which originally may have belonged to them as the Greek δε has still left behind it in Homer the plural dative δεσσι δεσι (τοῖςδεσσι τοῖςδεσι) which according to what was said in § 253 Rem. regarding the dative in *es si* sounds very homogenous to the Sanscrit neuter *das* probably a weakened form of *dat*. As to the proof of the relation of the idea of the conjunction δε to that of our pronoun it is sufficient to remark generally that all genuine conjunctions in the Indo-European family of languages as far as their origin can be traced are derived from pronouns the meaning of which frequently lies more or less obscured. Those from *μεν* and *δε* are contrasted with one another like this and that or the other and the connection of our German *aber** Old High German *afar* with the Indian अपरा *apara s* the other has been already shewn elsewhere* and in the same manner the Gothic *ith* but of which more hereafter is of pronominal origin just as the Latin *au tem*.

351 A descent from the tenuis to the medial similar to that which we have observed in the Greek δε and in *δεῖνα* which will be discussed hereafter is exhibited in Latin in the adverbs *dum demum donec denique* which all with more or less certainty belong to our demonstrative base. Perhaps *dudum* also is to be referred to this class and is to be regarded as the doubling of the base *du* for *tu to* as *totus* which has retained the old tenuis. In Sanscrit the doubling of pronouns in which both are nevertheless declined expresses multiplicity. *yô yas* signifies whoever *quicunque* and *yan yam*

* Vocalismus, p 155

"*quemcunque*," &c, and *sa sah, lan lam*, &c answers to them *Totus* is properly "this and this," "the one and the other half," hence the whole. The case is the same with *quisquis*. In *dudum*, "long ago," the notion of multiplicity is equally clear, and for this reason I prefer viewing it as the combination of two similar elements rather than as *du* and *dum*. The same relation, in a phonetic respect, that *dudum* has to *totus*, *dum* has to *tum*, which latter has been marked above (§ 313) as the accusative. The circumstance, that in these pronominal adverbs the accusative inflexion does not stand in its customary sense, ought not to divert us from this mode of derivation, for in adverbs the case-inflexions very frequently overstep their ordinary signification. Notwithstanding, it cannot be denied that, in all pronominal adverbs of this kind, or at least in some of them, the *m* might also belong to the appended pronoun *ma*, which is so widely diffused in Sanscrit and its kindred languages, and has been conjectured to exist in *ta-men* as analogous to the Sanscrit locative *tasmin*, and in *immo* by assimilation from *ismo**. According to this mode of explanation, in the Latin forms *dum*, *tum*, *tam*, *quam*, &c, there would be exactly as much left of the appended pronoun, and the case-terminations combined with it, as in our German datives, as *dem*, *nem*, and the Slavonic locatives, as *tom*. The locative would be very suitable for *dum*, "since," "while," (in which time), and *tum* in the meaning "then," and consequently *du-m* and *tu-m* would be = Sanscrit तस्मिन् *ta-smin*, Old Slavonic *tom*. For the meaning, "hereupon," which in Sanscrit is expressed by ततः *tatas*, (literally "from there"), it might be better to refer to the ablative तस्मिन् *ta-smāt*, for it is not necessary that *tum*, in all its meanings, should belong to one and the

* In the author's Essay on Demonstrativ stamme, p 21

same case form as the *m* approaches very closely to the terminations स्मै *smāi* स्मात् *smāt* and स्मिन् *smīn*

352 *Demum* considered as a demonstrative form agrees exceedingly well apart from the weakening of the consonants with the Greek τῆμος with respect to which the obsolete form *demus* is to be remarked. In τῆμος however to which the relative ἥμος corresponds there is no necessity to follow Buttmann in regarding the latter portion of it as the substantive ἥμαρ notwithstanding the apparent inducement for so doing contained in αὐτῆμαρ but I prefer dividing thus τῆμος ἥμος and I consider τῆ η to be merely the lengthening of the base TO as according to §§ 3 4 0=ञ *a* and η=ञ *ā*. Thus this η coincides with the cognate Sanskrit *ā* in several pronominal derivations with the base vowel lengthened as यथा *yā* तत् how much

how long while ऐ and with the word answering to it तथा *tā* तत्. Nay we might not perhaps venture too far if we were to recognise in ἥμος a corruption of यत् *yat* the *i* being hardened to *μ* as we perceive happens among other words in δραμω=दραμि *draṁmi*

I run (p 114) the *τ* being changed to *ς* which is necessary at the end of words if the *T* sound is not to be entirely dropped. Modifications which have aided us in explaining several forms of importance in Grammar (§§ 152 163). In *demum* *demus* however the demonstrative force is not so clearly perceptible as in the cognate Greek expression and it lies concealed under the usual translation then first or at last which does not affect the general sense of the sentence. Still *nunc demum venis?* means properly now comest thou at this (so late a time)? The time is doubly denoted and in this lies the emphasis first by *nunc* from the pronominal base *nu* and next by *demum*. In such adverbs however of place and time it is not required to express the place and time formally and this is done very rarely. In general the mind has to understand these categories in the

interior, as it were, of the verbal form. It is the property of the pronouns that they convey the secondary notion of space, which then admits of being transferred to time. Thus our *wo*, "where," has reference to place, *wann*, "when," to time, *da*, "then" or "there," to both, but the pronominal idea alone is formally represented in all three. When it is required to denote adverbially absolutely definite divisions of time, a pronoun is naturally combined with the designation of time in question, as in *hodie*, *σήμερον*, and *heute*, "to-day," (Old High German, *hutu*, § 162.) But if, in these expressions, one of the ideas combined in them were to lose its formal designation, that of time would most easily be dispensed with, the important matter being "on this" and not "on that (day)," and the language therefore adheres more tenaciously to the pronominal element than to that of time, which is very faintly seen in our *heute*, and even in the Old High German *hutu*. Hence I cannot believe that the adverbs *dum*, *demum*, *donec*, *denique*, are connected with the term for "day" (§ 122), which is common to the Latin and the Sanscrit, to which Hartung (*Gi Particles*, I 230), besides the forms which have been mentioned, refers, among others, *yam* and the Gothic *yu*, "now," "already," and *yulhan*, "already," as also the appended *dam* in *qui-dam*, regarding which see above (§ 350). In the first place, in the *dam* of *quon-dam*, and in the *dem* of *tan-dem*, we might admit the term denoting "day" without being compelled, from the reason given above, to this explanation, still less to the inference that *qui-dam*, *qui-dem*, and *i-dem*, also have arisen in this manner. If *quondam* contains the name of "day," then its *dam* approaches most nearly to the Sanscrit accusative *द्याम्* *dyām* from *द्यौ* *dyā*, "heaven," which, like other appellations of heaven, may also have signified "day," as a shoot from the root *दृश्* *dr̥*, "to shine," (§ 122). With this accusative *द्याम्* *dyām*, agrees,

also the Greek $\delta\eta$ long η as Hartung conjectures it is taken from an appellation of day like the Latin *die* (Sanskrit $\text{द्यु} dyu$ $\text{दा} da$)* On the other hand I prefer referring the particle $\delta\eta$ to our demonstrative base the significant and animating force of which is evinced clearly enough in the way in which it is used We return to the Latin *donec*—the more complete form of which *donecum*† has been already in another place divided into *do-nicum*—since I see in it a connection in formation and base with the Greek $\tau\eta\iota\kappa\alpha$ So long as is the time in which or in which time how long a time and *do* here represents the pronominal idea and *nec nium* that of time as it also actually expresses which will be shown hereafter a division

* Perhaps we should also class under the head $\eta\mu\mu\alpha$ and divide it into $\eta\mu\mu$ considering it as day time The first member of the compound would have lost the T sound of the Sanskrit base $\text{द्यु} dyu$ as in § 1. we have seen Du proceed from Dyu and the rough breathing would as frequently happens in Greek— $e\ g$ in $\text{ε} \text{γ}$ answering to *secur* and $\text{यकृन्} yakrit$ —supply the place of the y As regards the second portion of $\eta\mu\mu$ we might easily suppose it connected with $\mu\mu\epsilon$ If this idea be well founded then $\eta\mu\mu\alpha$ would mean day's side or light side (of time) But $\mu\mu\alpha$ admits also of comparison with a word which in Sanskrit, means time in general and day of the week for by a summing the frequently mentioned hardening of a t to m (cf p 425), and a shortening of the middle vowel we arrive at the Sanskrit $\text{वार} va$ which has been before the subject of discussion (§ 309) and with which too our *mal* Gothic *m l* (theme *m la*) is connected According to this view $\eta\mu\mu\alpha$ would therefore signify day's time in which case an etymological connection between $\mu\mu\alpha$ and $\mu\mu\epsilon$ might still exist inasmuch as $\mu\mu\epsilon$ *from the base *MAI* ($\text{μαρ} \mu ar$) is probably connected with the Sanskrit base $\text{वार} va$ (to cover and to choose whence *tara* (nominative *taram*) the gift lent by a god or a Brahman grace and whence is derived also *tara* opportunity time &c For further particulars regarding the base $\text{वार} va$ ($\text{वृ} vr$) and its branches in the European cognate language see my *Vocalismus* p 166

† Influence of the Pronouns in the Formation of Words] 19

of time In the Sanscrit यदा *yāvat*, on the other hand, from the relative base *ya*, which signifies both "so long" and "until," the pronominal idea is alone represented, and we have hereby a fresh proof of the existence of a demonstrative element in *donec, donicum* *Dēnique*, in like manner, with regard to its origin, appears to be related to *τηνίκα*, to which it bears a surprising resemblance, with *qu* for *k*, as in *quis, quid*, corresponding to कश् *has*, किम् *kim*, κῶς, *koîos*, &c.

353 The pronominal base *ta* is combined, in Sanscrit, with the relative base *ya*, for the formation of a new pronoun of similar signification, which belongs especially to the Vêda dialect, and, like many other Vêda words, has found more frequent use in the European cognate languages than in the common Sanscrit The *a* of *ta* is suppressed in this compound, hence *tya*, and in the nominative of the personal genders, as in the simple *ta*, the *T* sound is replaced by *s*, hence स्य *syas*, स्या *syâ*, त्य *tyat*, accusative त्व *tyam*, त्वम् *tyâm*, त्य *tyat*, &c The base *sya*, which is limited to the nominative, with its feminine form *syâ*, possesses a complete declension in several cognate languages, and in the Slavonic has found its way into the neuter also The Gothic has adhered most closely to the Sanscrit, and does not permit this pronoun to extend beyond the singular nominative Moreover, only the feminine form *si* remains, and one could wish that a masculine *syi-s*, for *sya-s*, (according to § 135) occurred with it Most of the forms, however, which express, in Gothic, the idea "he," and its feminine, have proceeded from the demonstrative base *z*, among which *si*, though, as it were, an alien, has found its place This *si*, from the base *syô*=Sanskrit *syâ*, is an abbreviation of *sya*, according to the analogy of the substantive declension of like termination (Grimm's second strong declension), as *thru* for *thruya*, from the base *thruyô*

351 The Old High German *siu* is more exactly retained than the Gothic *si*. We will leave it undecided whether it should be written *syu** which has not entirely dropped the Sanscrit *सि* of *स्यु*† but has first shortened it to *a* and then weakened it to *u*†. *U* however in Old High German is a favourite letter after *i* or *y* (Vocalismus p. 246 Rem. 50). The form *siu* in Old High German is not so isolated as *si* in Gothic but from the base *sid* springs also an accusative *sia* and in the plural the form *sia* which is common to the nominative and accusative and in a Gothic dress would be *syds* in Sanscrit *सिद्स्युः*. Contrasted with the singular nominative *siu* the accusative *sia* may appear remarkable for in both cases similar forms might have been expected. The difference however consists in this that the nominative form at the oldest period to which we can arrive by the history of the language terminated in a vowel without any case sign whatever while in the accusative the vowel of the base was protected by a nasal. This nasal then may have preserved the old quantity of *a* just as in Greek a final *a* frequently occurs in places where a nasal was permitted to follow it by the old Grammar, while where a short *a* sound is found originally unprotected or accompanied by consonants not nasal it is usually changed into *e* or *o* hence *επτα* *επτεα* *δεκα* answering to the Sanscrit *sapta* *navan* *davan* though from these likewise in the nominative and accusative according to §§ 139 313 *sapta* &c. *ἑδεκα* answering to *सप्त* *अष्ट* *पदम्* but *ἑδεκα* to *सप्त* *अष्ट* *अदिकशत* *लुक्* to *पृक्* *रिका* *ἑδεκα* to *सप्त* *अदिकशत*.

352 While the Gothic article like that in Greek is to

* See p. 307, Rem. 5 and Vocalismus p. 234 Rem. 31.

† Respecting *u* as lighter than *a* and heavier than *i* see Vocalismus

be referred to the bases discussed in § 313. स *sa*, मा *mā*, त *ta*, न *nā*, the High German, as has been before remarked (§ 258 Rem 5), attaches itself chiefly to the compound त् *tya*, fem *tyā*, and introduces this into the nominative also, hence, in the feminine, *du* (or perhaps *dyn*), as above *sa*, accusative *dia*, answering to the Sanscrit त् *tyā*, and in the nominative and accusative plural *du* = *tyās*. With regard to the masculine, compare, with the Sanscrit nominative त् *tyē*, the form *die*, which in High German has found its way also into the accusative, which in this language is everywhere the same as the nominative. In the neuter, *du* agrees with similar Old High German forms, from substantive bases in *ia*, as *khunnu*. In the masculine singular, and in those cases of the neuter which are the same as the masculine, the compound nature of our pronominal base is less palpable, and taking it as our starting point, or restricting our views to it, we should have classed the forms *der*, *des*, *demu*, *den*, not under *tya*, but, like the Gothic forms of kindred signification, under the simple base त *ta*. But if *der*, *den*, be compared with the corresponding feminine cases *du*, *dia*, and with the masculine plural *du*, without the supposition which is refuted by the Sanscrit, Lithuanian, and Slavonic that in the latter word a redundant *i* is inserted, which never occurs in other parts of the Old High German Grammar,* then the assumption becomes necessary that *der*, *des*, *demu*, *den*, have had their origin from older forms, as *dyan*, *dya*s (= त् *tyas*, त् *tyasya*), so that as very frequently happens in Gothic (§ 72), in the syllable *ya* the *a* is dropped, and the *y* changed into a vowel, just as, above, we have seen *si* and *thwi* spring from *siya* and *thruya*. The Old High German, however, very commonly employs *e* for the Gothic *i*

* See Vocalismus, p 247

356 The distribution of forms with *e* and *i* (or *y*) and a following vowel is not fortuitous but rests on an historical basis so that the contraction to *e* occurs universally where the Sanskrit has a short *a* after *y* * but the more full form is found only when a long *ā* or the diphthong *ē* accompanies the Indian semivowel though this circumstance does not in every case ensure the more complete form in Old High German for in the genitive plural we find *dero* (masculine feminine and neuter) notwithstanding the Indian *त्येषाम् tyesham* in the masculine and neuter and *त्येषाम् tydsam* in the feminine and in the dative together with *diem*—according to Notker *dien*—occurs also *dem* or *den* and this too in most authorities. The neuter instrumental *diu* is based on the instrumental *त्यद् thyā* † which may be supposed to exist in Zend and where therefore we have in like manner the *i* or *y* retained with original long vowels following that letter. Compare

MASCULINE

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Old H G</i>	<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Old H G</i>
Nominative	<i>vyas</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>tye</i>	<i>die</i>
Accusative	<i>tyam</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>tyan</i>	<i>die</i>
Dative	<i>tyasmāi</i>	<i>demu</i>	<i>tyebhyas</i>	<i>diem</i>
Genitive	<i>tyasya</i>	<i>des</i>	<i>tyeshum</i>	<i>dero</i>

NEUTER

Nom Acc	<i>tyat</i>	<i>daz</i>	<i>tyān tyā</i> ¹	<i>diu</i>
Instrumental	<i>tyena thyu</i>	<i>diu</i>	<i>tyebhūs</i>	

The rest like the masculine

* Respecting the neuter *daz*, see § 306 Rem 2

† I cannot however quote this pronoun in Zend except in the nominative plural masculine in combination with the relative § 6.

¹ The latter is the Veda and Zend form see § 231 and § 234 Note *

² The latter the Zend form pre supposed above

II MINIM

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	Sanskrit	Old H G.	Sanskrit	Old H G.
Nominative,	<i>syā</i> ,	<i>stu</i> ³ , <i>du</i> ,	<i>tyās</i> ,	<i>du</i>
Accusative,	<i>tyām</i> ,	<i>du</i> ,	<i>tyās</i> ,	<i>du</i>
Dative,	<i>tyasyā</i> ,	<i>deru</i> ,	<i>tyābhyas</i> ,	<i>du'm</i>
Genitive,	<i>tyasyās</i> ,	<i>dera</i> ,	<i>tyāsām</i> ,	<i>du</i>

"Remark 1 I differ from Grimm, whom, § 258 Rem 3. I have followed, as I here give *die*, not *diē*, and in the feminine plural *dio*, not *diō*, in the genitive plural *dera*, and in the genitive and dative singular *dera*, *deru*, without a circumflex, since the circumstance that theory, and the history of language, would lead us to expect a long vowel, does not appear sufficient ground for the inference that the original long quantity, which has been retained in Gothic, was not shortened in the three centuries and a half which elapsed between Ulfilas and the oldest High German authorities. Where a long vowel is not shewn by Kero's doubling the vowel, or Notker's accenting it with a circumflex, which is not the case in the examples before us, we have there to assume that the vowel, in the course of centuries, has undergone a weakening change. To this, final vowels are, for the most part, subject, hence, also, the subjunctive present preserves the *ē*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *ए ē* and Gothic *ai* only in persons in which the vowel is protected by a personal termination following it, but in the first and third persons singular, which have lost the personal signs, the organic length of quantity is also lost *.

"Remark 2 It is very probable that the simple base

³ See § 354

* Grimm appears to have committed a mistake in referring, I 723, to the third p conj for support of the supposed length of the *e* in the nominative plural, as at p 868 he ascribes to it a short *e*

ta was in Old High German originally more fully declined and that remains of that declension still exist. The neuter *das* has the strongest claim to be viewed as such which contrary to § 255 Rem 5 I now prefer referring to the Sanscrit *tal* rather than to *tyal* as the syllable *ṭya* has elsewhere in Old High German universally become *de* (§ 271). Perhaps too the *de* which occurs in the nominative plural masculine together with *die* (Grimm I 791) is not an abbreviation of the latter by the rejection of the *i* but a remnant of the simple pronoun and therefore akin to the Sanscrit *ṭe* and Gothic *than*. On the other hand in Old Slavonic in the declension of the simple pronoun given at § 319 several remains of the compound *ṭya* have become intermingled which are there explained. But the forms *toi toe taya* which occur in the nominative and accusative together with *t* (masculine) *to* (neuter) *ta* (feminine) though they contain the same elements as the Sanscrit *ṭya ṭyal* were first formed in Slavonic in the sense of § 254 otherwise they would not have restored the vowel of the first pronoun which the Sanscrit has suppressed (§ 353) thus *ti* for *toi te* or *tye* for *toe* and *tya* for *taya* (compare § 257). The same is the case with the compound plural forms of the nominative and accusative masculine *ti* neuter *taya* feminine *tyya*.

Remark 3.—In § 160 I have made the assertion that the German dative is based on the old instrumental as it often occurs with an instrumental signification. I was however particularly impelled to this view by the dative form of bases in *i* ns *gasta* from the theme *gasti*. But if we make the division *gast a* and regard the *a* as the case termination there is nothing left us but to refer this form to the Indo Zend instrumental. There is however a way of comparing this form with the Sanscrit dative which I now prefer as the Lithuanian and Slavonic which are so near akin to the German have retained the dative

together with the instrumental, and the Old High German has preserved a particular form for the instrumental, the generic difference of which from the dative is especially observable in the pronoun, in which *demu* answers to तस्मै *tyasmâi*, but the instrumental *duu*, and the Gothic *thê* (§ 159), no more exhibit the appended pronoun *sma*, mentioned in §. 165 &c, than does the Sanscrit-Zend instrumental. *Duu* agrees best with the Zend *thyâ*, supposed above, and the Gothic *thê* with the simple *tâ** The form *demu*, and the Gothic *thamma*, compared with तस्मै *tyasmâi* and तस्मै *tasmâi*, have lost the *i* element of the Sanscrit diphthong रे *âi* (= *â + i*), and the long *â* has been shortened in Gothic, otherwise it would have been supplied by *ô* or *ê*† The short Gothic *a* has, however, in Old High German been still further weakened to *u* But to return to the Gothic *gasta* from the theme *gasti*, I do not now regard the final *a* of this word as a case-suffix, but as a Guna-vowel, after which the *i* of the base has been dropped, together with the case-character, while all bases in *u*, and feminine bases in *i*, have lost only the inflexion, and not a portion of the base with it The same relation that *sunau* has to the dative सूनवे *sûnav-ê*, from *sûnu* which in Sanscrit also receives the Guna the feminine *anstai*, from the theme *ansti*, has to the Sanscrit *matay-ê*, from *mati* The masculine *gasta*, however, has not only lost the inflexion of *gastay-ê*, as it must originally have been pronounced, but also the *y*, which ought to have reverted to *i* In the *a* declension *vulfa* is readily made to accord with the Sanscrit वृकाय *vikâya*, and Zend 𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 *vêhrkâi*, to the latter it bears the same relation that *thamma* above does to तस्मै *ta-smâi* The feminine *gibai*, from the theme *gibô*, is as easily de-

* The Sanscrit *tyc-n-a* has, according to § 158, a euphonic *n* inserted, and the *a* of the base changed into *i* by the blending of an *i*

† The latter actually takes place in *hrammê-h*, *hvaryammi-h*

riable in regard to form from the dative $\text{f} \text{w} \text{u} \text{y} \text{u} \text{y} \text{u} \text{h} \text{y} \text{d} \text{u}$ as from the instrumental $\text{f} \text{w} \text{u} \text{y} \text{u} \text{y} \text{u} \text{h} \text{y} \text{d} \text{u}$. In both ways the inflexion has been lost and the semivowel preceding it changed to a vowel. But if we are to believe that a genuine dative character is retained in German we should find it in the declension of the pronouns inasmuch as for instance the feminine form *-at* in *thuzat* is directly derivable from the Sanscrit *ayā* from *smay-dh* by merely dropping the semivowel so that *thuzat* and $\text{तस्य} \text{tasyā}$ stand historically near to one another as we have represented in § 172 where we expressed our belief that *at* in *thuzat* may be explained on the same principle as that of *gibat* and thus *thuzat* must be considered as an abbreviation of *thū ayat* and therefore as indeclinable. But if *thuzat* stands for *thūz-yat* and *dh* is therefore in this and similar pronominal forms a remnant of the Sanscrit feminine dative termination *dh* then the Gothic *at* above mentioned is essentially distinguished from the similar termination in *gibat* *domo* and *austar* *grat* as these two also are diverse from one another since the *i* of *austar* belongs to the theme *austē* while an *i* is foreign to the theme of *gibat* viz *gibī* and accompanies the base in the dative only while in the corresponding class of words in Sanscrit it is added in several cases after which is annexed the true inflexion which is omitted in Gothic. But if the *at* of *thuzat* is identical with the Sanscrit $\text{धे} \text{dh}$ of $\text{तस्य} \text{tasyā}$ then we cannot distribute the genitive *thū* $\text{तस्य} \text{tasyā}$ into *thūz* $\text{तस्य} \text{tasyā}$ and this must be considered as an abbreviation of *thū -y* $\text{तस्य} \text{tasyā}$ and we should have in this and similar pronominal forms* a feminine genitive termination *ys* while elsewhere in all genders the genitive sign consists in a mere *s*.

* To the *c* belong the (strong) adjectives combined with a pronoun

357 It has been already remarked, that our *dieser* is a compound pronoun (§ 288 Rem 5.), the first member of which is founded on the Sanscrit base त् *tya*, and our article (§ 353) It is not, however, requisite to assume that its *ie* presupposes an older *ia*, but it may be regarded, which now appears to me preferable, as the unorganic lengthening of the *di-sér* of Notker. As regards the second part of this demonstrative, its declension might be assigned partly to the simple Sanscrit base स *sa*, partly to the compound *sya*; to the latter evidently belongs the feminine nominative *deSIU* (= स्या *syá*, *diese*, "this,") and the neuter plural nominative of the same sound. But if the feminine accusative is *desa*, not *desia*, and the masculine *desan*, not *desian*, or *desen*, according to the analogy of *den* (p 356), then, instead of regarding these and other analogous forms as remains of the simple base स *sa*, सा *sá*, it may be assumed that the *i* (or *y*) has been dropped, as occurs in most cases of the declension of *hurta* (theme *hurta* or *hurtya*), so that in the plural, *hurta*, *hurto*, *hurtem*, and in the dative singular *hurta*, answers to the Gothic *hyrddyós*, *handyê*, *hardyam*, *hardya*. If this is, as I believe it is, the proper view of the declension of *desér*, the declensional difference between *der* and *sér* then lies in this, that it has been necessary to lighten the latter, owing to the incumbrance of the base of the article which is prefixed to it, and that, therefore, *i* is rejected, hence *desa*, "*hanc*," but without the article *sia*, "*eam*." It is remarkable that the Lithuanian presents us with what appears to be the transposed form of our compound *dieser*. As such, at least, I regard the so-termed emphatic demonstrative *szittas*, in which the Sanscrit, subjective but compounded pronoun स्या *sya*, occupies the first place, and the objective and simple त् *ta* the second. The first *t* of *szittas*, which I divide thus, *szit-tas*, is, in my opinion, a remnant of the neuter case-sign *t* (§ 155), and presupposes a Sanscrit स्यात् *syat*, which

syā would form in the neuter if it was used in that gender. It may be observed that in Sanscrit also the neuter case sign *t* at the beginning of compounds is drawn into the theme and *tat putras* his son is used not *ta putras*.

359 The *sz* (= *sh*) in the Lithuanian *szis* and *szittas* is founded on the form assumed by the Sanscrit base in the Vedas under certain circumstances (§ 55) which change its *s* into *ś* *sh*. For otherwise the Lithuanian *sz* does not agree with the Sanscrit *ś* *s* but perhaps under other conditions with *ś* *sh* e.g. in *śeszi* = *śś shash* six. With regard to the declension of *szis* it is to be remarked that it exhibits several cases in which the *i* of the base *szia* feminine *szid* has been rejected or which belong—and this view is the one I prefer—to the simple pronominal base *ś* *sa* feminine *śā* *sā* which completes the compound *szis* as p. 496 among the cases of the simple Slavonic base *to* we have seen remains of the compound *śtīya*. We here annex the complete declension of the Lithuanian pronoun under discussion accompanied by the kindred form in Old Slavonic regarding which reference may be made to Rem. 1.

SINGULAR

	MASCULINE		FEMININE	
	<i>Lithuanian</i>	<i>Old Slav</i>	<i>Lith</i>	<i>Old Slav</i>
Nominative	<i>szis</i>	<i>sy</i>	<i>szī</i> ¹	<i>stī</i> ¹
Accusative	<i>szin</i>	<i>sy-</i>	<i>szēn</i>	* <i>syu</i>
Instrumental	* <i>szu s um</i>	<i>sim</i>	<i>szē</i>	<i>seyu</i>
Dative	<i>sziam</i>	<i>semu</i>	<i>szig</i>	<i>sci</i>
Genitive	<i>szio</i>	<i>sejo</i>	<i>szio</i> •	<i>seja</i>
Locative	<i>sziamē s emē</i>	<i>sem</i>	<i>szioje</i>	<i>sci</i>

The agreement with the Gothic *si* (§ 353) and in Slavonic the complete identity with it should not be overlooked. With respect to the contraction of the Slavonic theme *syo* sometimes to *si* at other times to *se* compare § 482.

DUAL				
		MASCULINE	FEMININE	
	<i>Lithuanian</i>	<i>Old Slav</i>	<i>Lith</i>	<i>Old Slav</i>
Nominative,	*szũ,	*sya,	szĩ,	*sĩ
Accusative,	szũn,	*sya,	szin,	*sĩ
Dative,	szĩem,	I D sima,	szĩom,	sima
Genitive,	*szũ,	seyũ,	szũ,	syũ
PLURAL				
Nominative,	szie,	si,	szios,	*sya
Accusative,	*szus,	*sya,	szes,	*sya
Instrumental,	szies,	simi,	*szomis,	simi
Dative,	szĩems,	sim,	*szoms,	sim.
Genitive,	szũ,	sich,	szũ,	sich
Locative,	*szũse,	sich,	*szosa,	sich
NEUTER				
Nom Acc sg		se		
Nom Acc du		sĩ		
Nom Acc pl		*sya		

“Remark 1. The composition of the Slavonic base *syo*, which occurred in the ancient period of the language, and by which it is shewn to be identical with the Sanscrit *syā*, having been forgotten, it need not appear surprising that this base, which, in Slavonic, passes as a simple one, should be again combined with the pronoun which forms the definite declension, and which, from the first, forms its last member, hence, in the nominative singular, together with *sy* is used also *sĩ*, and in the feminine with *si* also *sya* (compare § 284). In some cases the ancient compound only is used, *e g* in the feminine accusative singular only *si-yu* is used, not *syũ*

“Remark 2 In the light of the Slavonic modern compounds just mentioned, as *si-ĩ*, *si-ya*, must be regarded the Old High German *sēi* (of *desēi*), if the *ē* of this form

is a contraction of *a + i* as in so many other places. While therefore the feminine *su* is to be referred direct to the Sanscrit *सु* *ya* and is as it were its continuation *ser* has been formed first in the German language by combining the base *sa* which has been retained in Gothic in the nominative of the article with the defining element *i* (from *ya*). Compare what has been before remarked (§ 288 Rem 3) regarding analogous adjective nominatives as *plintēr* from *plinta i*. As a corroboration of this distribution it may be here further observed that each of the elements *a* and *i* which are united in the *ē* of *plintēr* also occurs separately * each having on different occasions divested itself of the other. Thus *plintar* and *plintir* may occur — a clear proof that *plintēr* has been contracted from *plinta i* for diphthongs are frequently subject to abbreviations in which one of the elements combined in them is lost as in the Gothic *haba* I have and *habam* we have are used instead of *habai habaim* as is shown by the analogy of the other persons and the Old High German *habēm habēmēs* †. The Old High German furnishes examples of forms in which only the latter element of *ai* is retained as *enstā* answering to the Gothic dative *anstai* and genitive *anstaus*. It is not surprising therefore that in the nominative of the definite adjective together with *ēr* (= *ai*) *ar* and *ir* also occur. Of these three forms (*ēr ar ir*) the first appears to be the original since it best admits of comparison with the two others. But if *plintar* from *plintai* was the original form the *a* in this place could not have been preserved beyond the fourth century not to mention the eighth as *a* in polysyllabic words in Gothic before a final *s* which has from the first held this place is

* Graff II 346

† Cf Vocabularius p 203

regularly suppressed, or, after *y*, weakened to *i*,^{*} while *a* is retained before a final *s*. Hence, in the second person singular, compare *ais*, Old High German *is*, answering to the Sanscrit *अस्* *ás* (from *ais*), Latin *is*, *is*†, and Greek *οἷς*”

359 The Lithuanian *szit-ta-s* has been mentioned above (§ 357.), which, with regard to its last portion, is identical with the Greek *αὐτο-Σ*, and with the Sanscrit *एतद्* *etad* (§. 344) But the demonstrative base *त* *tya*, also, which is formed of *ta* + *ya*, occurs in Lithuanian at the end of a compound pronoun. As such I regard *patis* (*pat'-s*), “*ipse*,” which I distribute thus, *pa-tis tis* stands, according to rule, for *tyis* from *tyas*, as *jauniklis*, “*bridegroom*,” for *jaunikkyis* from *jaunikkyas* (§ 135) But in Lithuanian, *t* before two vowels, *ie* excepted, is changed into *cz* (= *ch*),† hence dative *pa-czia-m*, locative *paczia-mè* or *palimè*, instrumental *pacziu*. In the genitive *paczio* might be expected, according to the analogy of *szio* and *jauniklio* we find, however, *patiés*, according to the analogy of *auiés* (§ 193), the feminine genitive *pacziós* agrees, however, with *szios*, and similar genitives from bases in a feminine *a* (अ *á*) As regards the first member of *pa-tis*, I consider it to be identical with the Sanscrit base *sva*, *सु*, whence *स्वयम्* *svayam*, “*self*” *Sva* becomes *pa* by the loss of the initial letter, and the hardening of the *v* to *p*, as, in Prakrit, *पनि* *pani*, “*thou*,” proceeds from *तवम्* *tvam*; so in the Bohemian or Gipsy language *pén*, “*sister*,” comes from *स्वसृ* *svasr* (स्वसृ *svasr*)” Indeed, in the pronoun under discussion, the Lithuanian admits of comparison with the Gipsy language, as in the latter, as has been already pointed out in

* It is to be observed that the *s* of *vulfs*, from *vulfas*, “*lup*,” is not an original final, as follows from the Sanscrit *vrīka-sya* and Greek *λύκο(σ)ιο*

† *Legās* for *legans*, *Vocalismus*, p. 201

‡ Written also *ch*, see p. 138

another place * *pe* has been formed from स् *sia* whence *pe s pe n* the former as singular the latter as plural accusative †

360 We turn to a pronominal base consisting of a simple vowel viz *i* which in Latin and German expresses the idea *he* and in Sanscrit and Zend signifies *this* and which has left in those languages no proper declension but only adverbs as इत् *itas* from *this* from *that* place and इह *ihā* Zend اڤا *idha* and اڤا *ithra* which supply the place of the ablative after comparatives and signify *here* *i e* at *this* with an inherent notion of place इति *iti* Zend اڤا *itha* Latin *ita* so इदानीम् *idānim* now analogous with *tadānim* then and also इत्थम् *it tham* so at the bottom of which lies the obsolete neuter *it* as the theme ‡ and which occurs in the Vedas also as an enclitic particle I regard this इत् *it* as the last portion of चेत् *chét* if (from *cha + it*) and नेत् *net* if not (from *na + it*) which latter is in Zend نڤا *nôit* (§ 33) and does not merely mean *not* since like our German *nicht* it has been forgotten that its initial element alone is negative while its latter portion signifies something real—in Zend *this* and in German *thing* (*nicht* from *n* *wiht* Gothic *n-i-rahts*) From the pronominal root *i* proceed also the derivatives इतरम् *itara s* the other with the comparative suffix the accusative of which *iterum* coincides with the Latin *iterum* ईदृश *idrīsa* and similar forms which signify *such* and इयत् *iyat* so many Notwithstanding these numerous offshoots which have survived the declension of the pronoun under discussion its base has been entirely overlooked by the Indian grammarians and I believe I am

* Berlin Jahrb Feb 1836 p 311

† Perhaps also the syllable *pen* of *bolapen* *heaven* is identical with the Sanscrit *śar* of the same meaning

‡ Compare what is said at § 357 respecting the Lithuanian *exit tas*

the first who brought it to light* The Indian grammarians, however, give extraordinary etymologies for some of the abovementioned words, and derive *it*, "so," from इति , "to go", *itaro-s*, "the other," from *it*, "to wish" (S Wilson). In some, recourse is had to इदम् *idam*, "this", and one would not be entirely in error in deriving from this word *itas*, "from here," though there is a difficulty in seeing how from *idam* as the theme can spring the form *itas* by a suffix *tas*. We should expect *idantas* or *idatas*.

361 In Latin the theme of *is* is lengthened in several cases by an inorganic *u* or *o*, in the feminine by *a*, and it is thus brought into the second and first declension, in which *i* is liable to be corrupted to *e*, especially before vowels. As from the verbal root *i*, "to go," come *eo* and *eunt*, in opposition to *is*, *it*, *imus*, *itis*, *ibum*, so from our pronoun come *eum*, *eo*, *eorum*, *eos*, and the feminine forms *ea*, *eam*, *ea*, *earum*, all from the base which has been subsequently lengthened, to which the obsolete *ea-bus* also belongs. To the old type belong only *is*, *id*, the obsolete forms *im*, *ibus*, with which agrees the Gothic *i-na*, "him," *i-m*, "to them," (from *i-b*, § 215), and the genitive and dative *e-gus*, *e-i*, which are common to the three genders, and also the locative *ibi* in form a dative, according to the analogy of *tibi*, *sibi* (§ 215) and probably the word *immo*, which has been already mentioned (§ 351), which we may suppose formerly to have been pronounced *immod*, and which corresponds to the Sanscrit pronominal ablatives in *smāt*, but by assimilation approaches very closely the Gothic dative *imma*, "to him." The dative *ei* stands isolated in Latin Grammar, inasmuch as all other bases in *i* have permitted this vowel to be melted into one with the case-termination, thus *hosti*, from *hosti-i* the pronominal base *i*, however, escapes this

* Heidel Jahrb 1818 p 472

combination by being changed into *e*. In my *Voerlismus* (p. 204) I have derived the length of quantity in the dative character from the combination of the *i* of the theme with the *i* of the inflexion which is properly short and I have assumed that bases terminating in a consonant lengthen the base in the dative singular as in most of the other cases by an unorganic *i*, thus *pedi* from *pedī i*. As then in this way a long *i* must be found almost universally in the dative this would come to be regarded as the true sign of this case and *ei* and the whole fourth and fifth declensions follow the prevailing example of the more numerous class of words. *Qui* alone retains the proper short quantity. It cannot be objected to the Latin language generally that it shews any undue inclination towards terminations with a long *i* and thereby lengthens unnecessarily that letter when originally short for universally where a long final *i* is found there is also a reason for its length as in the genitive singular and nominative plural of the second declension it is the suppression of the final vowel of the base which has induced the lengthening of the termination as a compensation thus *lup i* in both cases for *lupoi* while in the dative *lupo* for *lupoi* the termination has been merged in the vowel of the base. We have already discussed (§ 349 Rem. 2) pronominal datives like *isti* for *istoi* which would be analogous to the Greek *μοι σοι οἱ*.

362 The Gothic pronominal base *i* has two points of superiority over the Latin base which has been just mentioned in the first place it has never admitted the corruption of the original vowel to *ē* as generally this comparatively recent vowel is as completely foreign to the Gothic as to the Sanscrit and secondly the theme *i* in the masculine and neuter is preserved free from that unorganic admixture which transfers the Latin kindred form from the third to the second declension and has

produced *eum* for *im*, *eo* for *e* or *i*, *u* or *ei* for *ēs*, *eorum* for *um*. The Gothic pronoun, by the side of which are given in parentheses the forms, which have been most probably drawn from the corresponding Sanscrit base at the time when it was declined, are as follows

MASCULINE

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	<i>Sanscrit</i>	<i>Gothic</i>	<i>Sanscrit</i>	<i>Gothic</i>
Nominative,	(<i>i-s</i>),	<i>i-s</i> ,	(<i>ay-as</i>),	<i>ei-s</i>
Accusative,	<i>i-m</i> , ¹	<i>i-na</i> ,	(<i>i-n</i>),	<i>i-ns</i>
Dative,	(<i>i-shmāi</i>), ²	<i>i-mma</i> ,	(<i>i-bhyas</i>),	<i>i-m</i>
Genitive,	(<i>i-shya</i>), ³	<i>i-s</i> ,	(<i>i-shām</i>),	<i>i-zē</i>

NEUTER

Nom. Acc	<i>i-t</i> , ⁴	<i>i-ta</i> ,	(<i>i-n-i</i>),	<i>ya-</i> ⁵
----------	---------------------------	---------------	-------------------	-------------------------

¹ This form actually occurs in the Vêdas, see Rosen's Specimen, p 10. We should have anticipated *im* (with short *i*), according to the common declension, but the substantive and adjective declension has no monosyllabic bases in *i*, and other monosyllabic bases—with the exception of those in *ô*—use *am* as their termination, hence *bhuy-am* for *bhî-m*, and so, also, *iy-am* might be expected from *i*, as in monosyllabic words both short and long *i* are changed before vowels into *iy*. The Vêda dialect in the foregoing case, however, has preferred strengthening the vowel of the base to an extension of the termination, *oi*, which is more probable, it has contracted an existing *iyam* to *îm*, according to the analogy of the Zend (§ 42), and thus, perhaps, also the Vêda *sîm*, "*eam*," cited by Rosen 1 c, is a contraction of *syâm*, otherwise we must assume, that instead of the feminine base *sâ*, mentioned in § 345, *sî* occurred, according to the analogy of the Zend *hmî* from *hma* (§ 172). It is certainly remarkable that the *s*, which is especially subjective, has here found its way into the accusative, like the Old High German *sia* and Old Latin *sam*, "*eam*," *sum*, "*eum*" (§ 345).

² Comp *amu-shmâi*, from *amu*, § 21

³ Compare *amu-shya*, from *amu*, whence it appears that all pronouns, with whatsoever vowel then theme ends, have, in the genitive, *sha*, *oi*, euphonically, *shya* (§ 21)

⁴ § 157

⁵ § 233

363 Although in Gothic as in Sanscrit Zend Greek and Latin the vowel *i* in substantives is appropriated equally well to the feminine theme termination as to the masculine still in our pronoun of the third person where the idea is essentially based on the distinction of sex so that that which signifies he cannot mean she the necessity for this distinction has produced an extension of the base *i* in cases which without such an extension would be fully identical with the masculine*. In the nominative singular a totally different pronoun is employed which in High German is used throughout all those cases which are formed in Gothic from the extended base Gothic *si* Old High German *sīu* &c (§ 351) The affix which is used in Gothic to extend the base consists in the vowel which from a time far prior to the formation of the German language was especially employed as the fulcrum of feminine bases but which in Gothic appears in the form of *o* instead of *ä* (§ 64) thus *iyō* from *i + o* with the euphonic change of the *i* to *iy* as in the plural neuter forms *iy-a thriy a* (§ 233) From the base *iyō* is formed however in the uninflected accusative—as final vowels are for the most part liable to abbreviation—*iya* an analogous form to the Latin *ea eam* (for *ia iam*) and in the nominative and accusative plural *iyōs* which are likewise shortened† In the dative plural the identity with the masculine and neuter is not avoided and this case is as might be conjectured from the Old High German *im* with

* The accusative singular would indeed be distinguished from the masculine, since the feminine has completely lost the accusative character but it was there originally and therefore the necessity for a mark of distinction from the masculine also existed

† The accusative alone occurs yet it is probable that the nominative was exactly the same (Grimm I 785) in case it did not come from the same base as the singular nominative and it would therefore be *syos*

regard to which we must observe, that in Latin, also, in several of the oblique cases, the distinction of gender is less attended to (*eus, ei*, old *eae*) All the cases which distinguish the feminine by the inflexion spring from the original theme, thus *i-zōs*, *i-zai*, genitive plural *izō*, opposed to *is*, *imma*, *izā* In Latin, also, the extension of the base *i* may have been commenced in the feminine, and thus an analogous masculine *eum* have been made to correspond to *eam*, and may have superseded the more ancient *im* Similar corruptions have been adopted by the language in the same manner, thus *eorum* would have been placed beside *earum*, and thus the *ium*, which probably existed, would have fallen into disuse *eabus*, *us. eis*, were followed by the masculine and neuter *us, eis*, which supplanted the older *ibus*.

364 If the singular nominative of the reflective pronoun given by the old grammarians was *ī* and not *ī*, it might be regarded as the kindred form of the pronoun under discussion, and in this view it would be of importance that the Vêda accusative *im*, mentioned above (p. 510. Rem 1), has a reflective meaning in the passage quoted, and is rendered by Rosen *semel ipsum* But if *ī* is the right form, then it probably belongs to the Sanscrit base* *sia*, *siē*, whence *svayam*, "self" (§ 341), and is connected with *ōv*, *ōī*, *ē* and *σφεῖς*, &c, the latter from the base ΣΦΙ As in this word an *i* stands for an original *α*, which would lead us to expect *o*, so also in *ī*, and it deserves notice, that, so early as the Sanscrit, together with *sva* is found a weakened form *sii*, from which I think may be formed the interrogative

* Not necessarily so, as the rough breathing occurs also in words which originally begin with a pure vowel, as *ἐκάτερος*, answering to *एकतरम् ekatara-s* On the other hand the form *ī* would not peremptorily conduct us to a base *इ*, as initial *s* has sometimes been entirely lost in Greek.

particle स्मिन् *smit* is neuter and analogous to इत् *it* and चित् *chit*. In favour of the opinion that *i* belongs to the old reflective base may be adduced the circumstance that, like the two other pronouns in which there is no distinction of gender (εγω *eu*) it is without a nominative sign. If it belonged to the base इ *i* it would most probably have had the same sound as the Latino Gothic *is* unless we prefer regarding *i* as the neuter. The dative ñ from its termination falls under the pronouns devoid of gender (§ 222) and would therefore likewise belong to the reflective base. The accusative ñ however considered independently would not furnish any objection to the opinion that it is identical with the Latin *im* and the Gothic *ina* *.

365 We have already mentioned the inseparable demonstrative *i* (§ 157). There is however (and this creates a difficulty) another mode of derivation according to which that *i* would be identical with the *ei* (= *i*) which is attached in Gothic in a similar manner to other pronouns not to strengthen their demonstrative meaning but to give them a relative signification. *izei* from *is* + *ei* means *qui* and *sei* a contraction of *si* + *ei* signifies *quæ* in accordance with a law of sound universally followed in Sanscrit (Gramm. Crit. § 35). It is most frequently combined with the article *sac* *sōei* *thatei* *qui* *quæ* *quod*, *thizei* feminine *thi-ozei* *cujus* only in the feminine genitive plural *thizōei* has as yet not been found to occur (Grimm III 15). If the first or second person is referred to *ei* is attached to *ik* and *thu* thus *ikei* *thuei* for the Gothic relative requires that the person to which it refers should be incorporated with it and as it is itself indeclinable the relations of case are denoted by the pronoun preceding it which is then merged in the meaning.

* Compare Hartun on the Cases p. 116 M. Schmidt De Pron. p. 12 &c. Kulmsi I 315

of its attendant Alone, *ei* signifies "that," like the Latin *quod* and the Sanscrit relative neuter यद् *yad*. And I have no doubt that the Gothic *ei*, in its origin, belongs to the Sanscrit-Zend relative base *ya*, which in Gothic has become *ei*, just as, in many other parts of Gothic Grammar, *ei* (= *i*) answers to the Sanscrit *ya*, as in the nominative singular *hairdeis* from the base *hairdya*.^{*} With respect to form, therefore, the derivation of the Gothic *ei* from the Sanscrit य *ya*, admits of no doubt, and since the significations of the two words are identical, we must rest satisfied with this mode of deducing it, and abandon Grimm's conjecture that *ei* is intimately connected with *is*, "he," or only allow it a very distant relationship to it, in as far as the derivation of the Sanscrit relative base *ya*, from the demonstrative base *i*, is admitted. The relationship, however, of these two is not susceptible of proof; for as *sa*, *ta*, *ma*, *na*, are simple primary bases, why should not such a one have originated in the semi-vowel *y* also? But if the Greek demonstrative *τ* is akin to the Gothic appended pronoun of similar sound, it likewise would proceed from the Sanscrit relative base, which appears to be especially destined for combination with other pronouns (see § 353), and this disposition is especially observable in Slavonic in which language that base, when isolated, has laid aside the relative signification (§ 282). Hence, before entering deeply into the Slavonic system of declension, I mistook this base, and thought I saw in its abbreviation to *i* (*i*, "eum," *im*; "ei") the Sanscrit base *i*.

366 We return to the Sanscrit *idam*, "thus," in order to notice the bases from which its declension is completed, and of which each is used only in certain cases. The most simple, and the one most largely employed, is अ *a*, whence *a-smâi*, "huc," *a-smât*, "hoc," *a-smîn*, "in hoc," in

the dual *ā bhyām* and in the plural *ē bhis*—analogous to Veda forms like *asīe bhis* from *asīa* (§ 219)—*ē bhyas e śādm e shu* exactly like *te bhyas* &c. from *ta* vi7 by the comingling of an *i* as is usual in the common declension in many cases. There is no necessity therefore to have recourse to a distinct base *ē* but this is only a phonetic lengthening of *a* and from it comes also the masculine nominative *अयम्* *ayam* from *ē + am* as *आयम्* *śayam* self from *siē* (for *sīa*) + *am* (§ 341). Mr Schmidt is disposed to compare with this *ē* the Latin *e* of *eum ea* &c (l c p 10) and to regard the latter as an abbreviation of an originally long *e*, for support of which opinion he relies principally on the form *aet* in an inscription to be found in Orelli and on the circumstance that in the older poets the dative *ei* has a long *e*. But we do not think it right to infer from this dative that every *e* of the pronoun *is* is originally long and we adhere to the opinion expressed at § 361 which is moreover confirmed by the circumstance that *i* also occurs before vowels and even in the plural *ii us* is more common than *ei eis*. As regards however the obsolete dative singular with a long *e* it may be looked upon as the Guna form of *i* as *i* in Sanscrit according to the common declension would form *ay ē = e + e*. From this *ē* however which is formed by Guna from *i* that which we have seen formed from *a* by the addition of an *i* is different and therefore the Latin dative even if it had an originally long *e* would still have nothing in common with Sanscrit forms like *e bhis* &c. The *e* in the genitive *eius* is long through the euphonic influence of the *y* and for it occurs also the form *aenus* in an inscription given by Orelli (N 2866). When through the influence of a *y* the preceding vowel is long it should not be termed long by position * *y* is not a double con

* The length of the vowel preceding the *y* may sometimes be differently accounted

sonant, but the weakest of all simple consonants, and approximates in its nature closely to that of a vowel. This weakness may have occasioned the lengthening of the preceding vowel, in remarkable coincidence with the Sanscrit, in which *i* and *u*, where they stand before a suffix commencing with *y* (*j*), are always either lengthened or strengthened by the addition of a *l*. hence the bases *जि* *ju* and *स्तु* *stu* form, in the passive, *जीये* *jīyē*, *स्तूये* *stūyē*, but in the gerund in *ya*, *jitya*, *stutya*.* The case is different where *इ* *i* or *ई* *ī* in monosyllabic forms are changed, before a vowel following them, into *इय* *iy* the *y* which arises from *i*, *ī*, has no lengthening power. It is scarcely possible to give any decided explanation of the orthographical doubling of the *i* for *j* in Latin. When Cicero wrote *Maia, ano*, he may have pronounced these words as *Mai-ya, ai-yo* (Schneider, p. 281), and we cannot hence infer that every initial *y* was described in writing by *u*. If this were the case, we should be compelled to the conclusion, that by doubling the *i* the distinguishing the semi-vowel from the vowel *i* was intended, as, in Zend, the medial *y* is expressed by double *i* (*ij*), and as double *u* denotes, in Old German, the *u*, though a single *u*, especially after initial consonants, occurs as the representative of *u*. But if Cicero meant a double *j* by his double *i*, it would not follow that, in all cases, the language intended the same. The Indian grammarians admit the doubling of a consonant after *r*, as *saippa* for *saipa*, "snake," and

accounted for, as *major* has been derived from *magior*, where the vowel may have been lengthened owing to the *g* being dropped. And a consonant must originally have preceded even the *j* of the genitive in *jus*, if this termination is akin to the feminine Sanscrit *स्यास्* *syās* (§ 349 Rem 22)

* Compare what has been said in my *Vocalismus*, p 213, regarding the tendency of the *i* to be preceded by a long vowel

they admit also of many other still more extraordinary accumulations of consonants with which the language cannot be actually encumbered. But if the doubling of a consonant following *r* has any real foundation the *r* would be assimilated to the consonant which followed it—as in the Prakrit *sarva* from *sarīa*—and then the simultaneous continuation of the *r* in writing would only be in order to retain the recollection of its originally having existed*.

367 From the demonstrative base अ *a* mentioned in the preceding paragraph a feminine base *i* might have arisen (see § 172) whence by the addition of the termination *am* so common in pronouns the nominative singular इयम् *iyam* (euphonic for *i am* Gramm. Crit. § 51) may be derived. As however a short *i* with *am* might become इयम् *iyam* it is uncertain if the feminine of our pronoun should be referred to the masculine base *a* or to *i*, the former however appears to me the more probable since thus the masculine nominative अयम् *ayam* and its feminine इयम् *iyam* would be of the same origin while the base *i* does not occur uncompounded in the whole masculine and neuter declension. The Gothic *ya cam* cannot therefore be compared with इयम् *iyam* particularly as in § 363 we have seen the Gothic arrive in a way peculiar to itself but still in accordance with the Latin at a theme *yo* lengthened from *i* but the *am* of the Sanscrit *iyam* is merely the nominative termination.

368 In Zend अयम् *ayam* becomes *aym* (§ 42) and इयम् *iyam* becomes *iyim*. The neuter इदम् *idam* however is replaced by *imat* from the base *ima* which in Sanscrit is one of those which supply the declension of *idam*. Hence for example come the accusative mascu.

* Compare the assimilation of *m* and its simultaneous graphical representation by *ṃ* (Gramm. Crit. § 70).

line इमं *imam*. feminine इमां *imāṁ*; Zend *ezes imēn*. *ezes imāim*. Ought we, then to compare with it the Old Latin *emem* for *eundem*. or. with Max. Schmidt (l. c. p. 11) consider it as the doubling of *em* for *im*? It need not seem surprising that the base *ima* which, in the singular, occurs only in this case, and which is principally limited to the accusative, should be found in Latin in the accusative only. I regard *ima* as the union of two pronominal bases, viz. *i* and *ma* (§. 105.): the latter does not occur in Sanscrit uncompounded, but is most probably connected with the Greek *μή*, and the latter, therefore, with the Old Latin *emem*.

369. As *i* with *ma* has formed the combination *ima*, in like manner I regard the base इमं *ama*, which likewise enters into the declension of *idam* as the combination of *a* with another demonstrative base, which does not occur in Zend and Sanscrit in isolated use, but perhaps in Pali in several oblique cases of the three genders* in the plural, also in the nominative, and in that of the neuter singular, which like the masculine accusative, is अं *naṁ*.† Clough gives the cases in which this pronoun occurs to the base *a ta*, as secondary forms, as, in Sanscrit, in several cases, a pronoun is found with the compound *an eta*, which has *na* instead of *ta* for its last portion. We will here give the compound Sanscrit pronoun over against the Pali simple pronoun.

MASCULINE

SINGULAR

Sanskrit

Pali

PLURAL

Sanskrit

Tali

N	ēsha	so	etē	tē nē
Ac	ētam enam	tan nan	ētān ēnān	te nē
I	ēlēna enēna	tēna nēna	etās	{tebhī nēbhī or tēhi nēhi}
D	etasmā	¹	ētēbhyas	¹
Ab	etasmāt	{tasmā nasmā oi tamhā namhā}	ētēbhyas	like Instr
G	etasya	tassa nassa	ētēshām	tesan nēsan ²
L	etasmīn	{tasmīn nasmin oi tamhi namhi}	etēshu	tēsu nēsu

NEUTER

N	etat	tan nan	etāni	tāni nāni
Ac	etat enat	tan nan	etāni enāni	{tāni nāni or tē nē

The rest like the masculine

FEMININE

N	ēshā	sā	etās	{tā na or tāyō nāyō}
Ac	ētām enām	tan nan	etās enās	{tā nā or tāyō nāyō}
I	etayā enayā	tāya nāya ³	etābhi	{tābhi nābhi or tāhi nāhi}
D	etasyā	¹	etābhyas	¹
Ab	etasyās	tassā tissā	etābhyas	*like the Instr
G	etasyās	tassā tissā ⁴	etāsām	tāsan tāsānan
L	etasyām	tassan tissan	etāsu	tāsu

¹ Is replaced by the genitive ² Or *tēs inan*, *nesunan* as the old genitive is taken as theme after suppressing the nasal and from it a new one formed according to the analogy of the common declension

³ Observe the transposition of the long vowel

⁴ In the form *tissā*

sative—P न *nan* Sans *नान्* *endm*—as the short masculine *a* in Latin has elsewhere become *u* among other words in *nunc* i.e. "at this (time)" which (I c) I have explained like *tunc* as analogous to *huic*. But if *tunc* and *nunc* are not accusatives their *ne* would appear to be akin to the Greek *νικα* and *tunc* might be compared to *τηνικα* of which more hereafter. With respect to *nam* and *enim* we may refer to § 351 with regard to the possibility in similar pronominal formations of their *m* being a remnant of the appended pronoun *sma*. There is no doubt however of the pronominal derivation of all these adverbs. We may remark in this respect our German *dean* and the Latin *quippe* from *quid* *pe* to which with regard to its last syllable *nempe* from *nam* *pe* (compare § 6) is analogous. The Sanscrit *kincha* moreover (euphonic for *kincha*) may be regarded as the prototype of *quippe* for it consists of *kim* "what?" and *cha* (commonly and) which takes from it the interrogative meaning and is in form the same as *que* which also in *quisque* removes the interrogative signification. The syllable *pe* however of *quippe* is in its origin identical with *que* and has the same relation to it that the Æolic *πεμπε* has to *quinque*. As regards the relation of the *e* of *enim* to the *a* of *nam* we may refer to that of *contingo* to *tango* and similar phenomena as also to the Pahlavi *tassd* compared with *tassd* (see Table § 369). The Greek *τιν* like *τιν* has a weakened vowel which appears also in the Sanscrit inseparable preposition *ni* "down" whence has arisen our German *nieder*. Old High German *ni dar* (p. 382) which bears the same relation to *na* that the neuter interrogative *kim* does to the masculine *kas*. A *u* also in analogy with *कुतश्* *ku tas* whence? *कुत्र* *ku tra* "where?" has been developed in our demonstrative and appears in the interrogative particle *नु* *nu* with which we compare the Latin *num* and the Greek *ν* which in form and partly in use is identical with *नु* *nu**. On the other hand in

* Compare Hartung Greek Articles II 93

νῦν, *nun*, "now," which likewise belongs to the base *na* or *nu*, the original demonstrative signification is retained more truly. Are we to suppose in the *ν* of this word, as being a necessary corruption of final *μ*, a remnant of the appended pronoun *sma*, and that the vowel preceding has been lengthened in compensation for the loss of the rest? Then *νῦν* would perhaps admit of comparison with the Pali locative *nasmin*, or *namhi*, and the change of *α* to *υ* would have first taken place in Greek through the influence of the liquids, as *σύν* answers to the Sanscrit *सम्* *sam*, "with." Our *nun*, Gothic *nu*, is likewise related, as is also *noch*, as analogous to *doch*. The Gothic forms are *nauh*, *thauh*, to the final particle of which, *uh*, we shall recur hereafter.

371 The Sanscrit negative particle *न* *na*, which appears in Gothic in the weakened form *ni*, comes next to be considered, in Old Slavonic it is *ne*, *ni*, the latter only as a prefix*. So in Lithuanian, in *niékas*, "none," (*ni-ékas*, compare Sanscrit *ékas*, "one,") and kindred compounds, but elsewhere it is found as *ne*. In Greek it is lengthened to *νη*, but only at the beginning of compounds, as *νῆκερως*, *νηκηδής*. In Latin it is found only as a prefix† in the form of *nē*, *nī*, *nē*, *nī* (*nefas*, *nefandum*, *neque*, *nisi*, *numquam*). This negative particle occurs in the Vêdas with the signification *sicut*, which points at its pronominal derivation‡. At least I think that we cannot assume a different origin for the particle in the two significations which are apparently so distinct: for if the idea *ya*, "yes," is denoted by a pronominal expression in Latin by *i-ta*, in Sanscrit by *ta-thā*, in Gothic by *yai*, of which hereafter its opposite may be contrasted with it, as *dieses*, "this," to *yenes*, "that," and *न* *na* would therefore

* See Kopitar's Glagolita, p 77

† I regard the conjunction *nī* as a corruption of *mī* = *μη*, *मि* *mā*, as *nario*, probably, from *marro* (see Vocalismus, p 165)

‡ Compare my Review of Rosen's Vêda Specimen in the Berl Jahrb Dec 1830 p 955

simply direct to what is distant for to say that a quality or thing does not belong to an individual is not to remove it entirely or to deny its existence but to take it away from the vicinity from the individuality of a person or to place the person on the other side of the quality or thing designated and represent it as somewhat different But that which in Sanscrit signifies this means also for the most part

that the mind supplying the place whether near or remote and the idea of personality alone is actually expressed by the pronouns The inseparable negative particle *अ* *a* too—in Greek the *α* privative—is identical with a demonstrative base (§ 366) and the prohibitive particle *न* *mā* = *μη* belongs to the base *ma* (§ 368) and the Greek negation *ου* admits of being compared with a demonstrative as will be shewn hereafter Observe further that as *न* *na* in the Vedas unites the relative meaning 'as' with the negative so the corresponding *ne* in Latin appears both as interrogative and negative in the former sense affixed in the latter prefixed It is further to be observed of the Sanscrit *na* that when combined with itself but both times lengthened—thus *नाना* *nana*—it signifies much of many kinds as it were

this and that, as *totus* also has been formed by reduplication (§ 351) The Sanscrit expression however is indeclinable and is found only in the beginning of compounds We may here mention also the interrogative and asseverative particle *ननु* *nunam* which I agree with Hartung (l c II 95) in distributing into *nū nam* since I regard *nu* as the lengthened form of the *nu* mentioned above without however comparing *nam* with *नानम्* *naman* 'name' as the pronominal base *na* appears to me to be sufficient for the explanation of this Indian *nam* as well as that in Latin which latter likewise Hartung endeavours to compare with *नानम्* *nāman* name

372 We return to the compound *अन* *ana* the last element of which has been considered by us in § 369 From *ana*

comes, in Sanscrit, the instrumental masculine neuter अनेन *anēna*, Zend *ana* (§ 158), feminine अनया *anayā*, Slavonic *onoyŭ* (§ 266), and the genitive and locative dual of the three genders *anayōs*, which, in Slavonic, has become *onŭ* for *onoyŭ* (§ 273). In Lithuanian, *ana-s*, or *an'-s*, signifies "that," feminine *ana*, and, like the Slavonic *on*, *ona*, *ono*, of the same signification, is fully declined, according to the analogy of *tas*, *tà*, *t'*, *ta*, *to*,* being, in this respect, superior to the corresponding words in Sanscrit and Zend. To this pronoun belong the Latin and Greek *an*, *άν*, as also the Gothic interrogative particle *an* (Grimm. III 756), though elsewhere in the three sister languages the *n* is thematic, which is especially evident in Gothic, where, from a theme *ana* in the accusative masculine, only *an* could be formed, and the same in the neuter or *anata*. For the Greek and Latin we should assume that अना *ana* had lost its final vowel, as we have before seen एन *ēna* abbreviated to 'EN (§ 308). But if the *n* belonged to the inflexion, or to the appended pronoun स्मा *sma*, which appears to me less probable, then the simple base अ *a* (§ 366) would suffice for the derivation of *an*, *άν*.

373 As the Latin preposition *inter* is evidently identical with the Sanscrit *antar* and the Gothic *undar*, our *unter* (§§ 293 294), and *i* is a very common weakening of *u*, we must class also the preposition *in* and the kindred Greek *εν* with the demonstrative base अना *ana*, although *in* and *εν*, considered by themselves, admit of being referred to the base इ *i*, and the relation of *ενθα* to the Zend *idha*, "here," might be deduced through the unorganic commixture of a nasal, as in *ἀμφω*, *ambo*, answering to the Sanscrit *ubhāu* and Slavonic *oba*. I now, however, prefer regarding the *v* of *εν-θα*, *εν-θεν*, which bear the relation of locative and ablative to one another, as originally belonging to the base, and *εν*

* See Kopitar's Glagolita, p. 59

therefore and the Latin in the pronominal nature of which is apparent in *inde* are connected with the Sanscrit *अन* *ana*. The Σ of *εις* from *εἰς* appears to me an abbreviation of the suffix *σε* which in forms like *προς* *ἄλλοσε* expresses direction to a place just as *εἰς* is an abbreviation of *εἰς* *δοῦς* of *δοθι* *προς* of *πρωτι*. There would then be a fitting reason why *εις* should express direction to a place it is opposed in meaning to *ἐκ* just as our *hither* towards to *thither* here only that the Greek expressions have lost their independent signification and only precede the particular place denoted of rest or to which motion is implied like an article the meaning of which is merged in that of its substantive. The preposition *αἰα* like the Gothic *ana* our *an* has preserved more perfectly the pronominal base under discussion *αἰα* is opposed to *κατα* as this side to that side*. The Gothic *ana* suddenly may likewise in all probability be classed here and would therefore originally mean in this (moment). Its formation recalls that of *απαξ* the ξ of which is perhaps an abbreviation of the suffix *κις* (§ 324). If the Gothic *ls* is connected with the suffix of such numeral adverbs then the removal of the *l* has been prevented by the close vicinity of the *s* though elsewhere the Gothic is not indisposed to the combination *ls*. In Lathurman *an day* from the base *ana* points to past time and signifies that time lately while *la day* refers to the future and means then.

374 The base *अन* *ana* forms with the relative *य* *ya* the combination *अन्य* *anya* and with the comparative suffix *तर* *tara* *अन्तर* *antara* both expressions signify *aliter* and have dropped the final vowel of the demonstrative base for which reason the Indian grammarians do not admit *अन्य* *anya* to be a compound any more than the previously discussed bases

* Compare § 106 and Demonstrative Bases and their connection with different Prepositions and Conjunctions p. 9 *passim*.

अ *tya*, स *syā*; nor do they see in *antara* any comparative suffix,* particularly as, besides the irregularity of its formation,† it is removed, by its signification also, from the common pronominal derivatives (§. 292), and expresses, not “the one,” or “the other,” of two, but, like अन्तरा *itara*, “the other” generally. In Gothic corresponds *anthar*, theme *anthara*, which has the same meaning, in Lithuanian *antra-s*, “the other,” “the second”, in Latin, *alter*, the *n* being exchanged for *l* (§. 20), on which also is founded the relation of *alius* to अल्य *anya-s*, the base of which is preserved complete in the Gothic *ALJA*‡. The Greek ἄλλος is removed one step further than *alius* from the original form, and, like the Prakrit अन्ना *anna*, and the Old High German adverb *alles*, “otherwise,” has assimilated the *y* to the consonant preceding it (compare p. 401). On the other hand, अन्ना *anya* exists in a truer form, but with a somewhat altered meaning, in Greek, viz as ἐνιοι, “some,” which may be well contrasted with the Sanscrit-Zend, *anyé*, “*ali*.” From the base *ENIO* comes also ἐνίοτε, “sometimes,” as analogous to ἄλλοτε, ἑτέρω, &c., for the derivation of which, therefore, we need not have recourse to ἐνι ὅτε, or ἔστιν ὅτε. In Old Slavonic, *in* signifies “the other,” and its theme is *ino*, and thus the *y* of the Sanscrit-Zend *anya* has been lost. The feminine nominative in Slavonic is *ina*, the neuter *ino*.

375 Together with *anya*, *antara*, and *itara*, the Sanscrit has also two other words for the idea of “another,” viz अपरा *apara*, and परा *para*. The former may have sprung from the preposition *apa*, “from,” as *apa* itself from the demonstrative base अ *a*. With it is connected, as has been

* *Anyā* is derived from *an*, “to live,” and *antara* from *anta*, “end”

† The regular form would be *anatarā*

‡ *Alja-kunds*, “*alienigenus*,” *alyai vaihtai*, “other things,” *alya thrō*, “elsewhere” (p. 384 *et a*). In the nominative masculine I conjecture *alyis*, not *ahs* (p. 358, Rem 7)

already observed (§ 350) our *aber* Gothic and Old High German *afar* (§ 87) the original meaning of which is still evident in *abermals* once more *aberglauben* superstition *aberwitz* false wit In Old High German *afar* means also again like the Latin *iterum* opposed to *इतरम् itara s* the other *पर para* is derived by apocope from *apara* it is more¹⁴ used than the latter and if it has derivatives in the European cognate languages also the Latin *perendie* may be among the first to be referred to a word which signifies another It should properly signify the morrow but the use of language often steps beyond the limits of what the actual form expresses and thus in the word alluded to by on the other day not the next following is implied but the day after to-morrow The language therefore proceeds from this day (*hodie*) to *cras*—in which an appellation of day is not easily perceived—and thence to the other day *perendie* the first member of which I regard as an adverbial accusative with *n* for *m* as in *eundem* In the Sanscrit *परं dyus* morrow *pare* on the contrary is apparently in the locative and the last member in the accusative if we regard it as the contraction of a neuter *duas* * but in *pare dyavi* both are in the locative The Latin *peren* occurs also in *perendino perendinatio* the last member of which guides us to another Sanscrit appellation of day viz to दिन *dina* But to dwell for a moment on *द्वयम् duas* and *पर para* I am of opinion that these two expressions are united in *res per res perus* and *εσπερα* as it were *द्वयम् duas para* which if we look upon *para* as a neuter substantive, would signify

* I prefer this derivation to that I formerly gave (*Kleinere Gramm* p 323) from *dyu* with an irregular *s* for from *duas* the step is as easy to *dyus* as from *du* to *dyu* *Divas* however, does not occur alone but in stead of it *duasa* still the compounds *duas pati*, Lord of Heaven or 'of day, and *divas-prithivyau* heaven and earth shew the trace of it for in the latter it is impossible to regard *as* as a genitive termination

“the last, latest part of the day,” and *para*, used adjectively, and prefixed to another appellation of day, actually occurs with this meaning, for *parāhna* (from *para* + *ahna*) signifies the later, or after part of the day (see Glossar) as *pūrvāhna* does the former, or earlier part. Consequently *vesper* would stand for *dive-sper*, and this abbreviation of the appellation of day will not appear more remarkable than that of द्रुस *drus* to *bis*. With respect to the loss of a whole initial syllable, I may refer to the relation of the Greek *μείραξ*, *μειράκιον* to कुमद्रा *kumdra-s*, “boy,” which, by the suppression of its middle syllable, but with the retention of the initial one, has been corrupted to *κόρος*, *κούρος*. We turn now to another trace of *पर* *para*, “the other,” in Latin, which we find in the first portion of *percger* and *peregrinus*, and which we could not well suppose to be the preposition *per*. *Pereger* would consequently signify “being in another land,” like the Old High German *eh-lenti*, and *peregrinus*, “who from another land.” We might also refer *pei-perus* to the same source, as the reduplication of *perus* = *परा-s*, in which the “bad and wrong” is opposed to “the right,” as the other. In the cognate Greek *πέρπερος* the fundamental meaning has taken a more special direction. Lastly, the particle *πέρ* remains to be mentioned, the use of which is more of a pronominal than a prepositional nature. A word, which originally signifies “other,” was well adapted to give particular emphasis to a relative, so as to bring prominently forward the persons or things denoted by it as other than those excluded. In this light let the French *nous autres*, *vous autres*, and our German *wenn anders*, “provided that,” be considered, which is more energetic than the simple *wenn*, “if.”* From *पर* *para* comes,

* Remark, also, the apparently pleonastic use of *ἄλλος*, and similar phenomena in Sanscrit, as Nal I 14, in which men are opposed to the gods and to other beings not human, as *others*. “Nowhere among the gods or Yakshas exists such beauty, nor amongst (others) men was such ever before seen or heard of.”

in Sanscrit *pīra* the further shore and from this *pīrayimi* "I complete" to the former answers *-ίραι* to the latter *πείρω**. In German in the word under discussion the idea of "other" has been changed to that of "far" Gothic *fairra* "far" the second *r* of which seems to have sprung from *n* by assimilation. In Sanscrit even *pāra* occurs in the sense of "far" in the compound *pāradā* "dead" having life removed.

3 c The Gothic *yans* (theme *yana*) *yener* that Greek *κῆνος κένος* (*ἄλ κῆνος*) and Doric *κῆνος* correspond in respect to their last element with the bases in the cognate languages which are compounded with *ra* *no* among which we may especially notice *ana* *a* (*ana*) *oi* which has the same meaning in Lithuanian and Slavonic. In the Doric *κῆνος* like *τηλικος* *τρεκα* the vowel of the article is lengthened (comp § 72) and the Ionic *κῆνος* has the same relation to the interrogative base *ko* that *κῆνος* has to *to*. But in *κῆνος* to which *κῆνος* bears the same relation that *μοῦ* does to *μου* (§ 37) instead of the base vowel being lengthened *ui* is in reduced and the *o* is weakened to *e*. compare in the former respect the Sanscrit *ś* and the compound *यजना* (§ 231). So also in the Gothic *yans* that "an" has been blended with the Sanscrit relative base *ya*. But if in German as in Slavonic a *y* preceded the old initial vowel as in *yer* *ig* *e* *afsmann* Lithuanian *esmi* "I am" (§ 233 n) *yans* would then shew itself to be a cognate form to *यजना* thus the real counter-type of which we have however already found in the numeral *ans* theme *ana* (§ 308). In Greek the word *dena* theme *ΔΙΝ* may also be classed here. It is a plural neuter which has been peculiarly dealt with by the language its *e* has the same relation to the *o* of the article that *κῆνος* has to *ko* (*κατε ποτεποι*), and the tens has been removed as in *o* before mentioned (§ 350). The *i* however of *ΔΙΝ* em*

* Compare Vocellismus § 174 &c

scarcely be connected with the appended pronoun न *na*, but is more probably a mere phonetic affix, as in TIN, of which hereafter, and in many words of our so-called weak declension (§ 142)

377 The Zend demonstrative base *ava*, “this,” has been already repeatedly mentioned. In it we find a new and powerful confirmation of the proposition which is one of importance for the history of language that pronouns and genuine prepositions are originally one, for in the Sanscrit, in which *ava* has been lost as a pronoun, it has remained as a preposition, with the signification “from,” “down”, as *ava-plu*, *ava-tai* (क्वै *tī*), “to spring from,” “to descend,” but the original meaning of which is “to alight down or at this (place).” In Slavonic, *ava* has been changed, according to rule (§ 255. a), to *ovo*, which signifies “this” and “that” its fem nom *ova* is almost identical with the same case in Zend *ava*. With this form is connected the Greek *av̄* of *av̄tós*, in which, after the suppression of the final vowel, the *v* has been changed to a vowel. When used alone the pronominal nature of this base is most apparent in *av̄θi*, “here,” which, therefore, is not to be regarded as an abbreviation of *av̄tóθi*, for it is quite as natural for the locative suffix to be attached to *av̄* as to other pronominal bases. With the same signification as *av̄θi* we might expect to find *av̄θα*, as analogous to *ἐνθα* and to the Zend *avagha*, which corresponds in its base, suffix, and signification. But the Greek expression does not occur alone, but only in combination with *ἐνθα* in *ἐνταῦθα* for *ἐνθαῦθα*†, and so, also, the ablative adverb *av̄θεν* is retained only in the compound *ἐντεῦθεν* (p 480). The indeclinable *av̄*, the use of which is not opposed to its pronominal origin, has probably lost some suffix of

* Compare p 387, Rem *

† § 344. p 480 The derivation of *ενταυθα* given at p 387 must be corrected accordingly

case or of another kind. If it were a neuter for *aut* or *autō* the suppression of the T sound would accord with a universal phonetic law (comp § 155). Perhaps it is an abbreviation of *αὐθις* which has the same meaning or of *αὐτε* which latter agrees in its formation with the pronominal adverbs *τοτε ὅτε ποτε* though the signification has diverged.

378 Through a combination with the comparative suffix is formed *αὐταρ* but with reference to which we must again advert to our German *aber* (Old High German *asar* but again") with the Sanscrit *apara alius*. The suffix of *αὐταρ* is distinguished from the customary *τερος* by the preservation of the original *a* sound and in this manner corresponds exactly to the Sanscrit *antar* (§ 293). The Latin *autem* on the other hand appears to contain the superlative suffix, as *tem* in opposition to *terum**. The *t* of *timus* might easily be corrupted to *e* in a word terminating with a consonant. I now however prefer regarding the suffix *tem* of *tem* and *autem* as not originating in the Latin language but as identical with the suffix *थम्* *tham* which in Sanscrit likewise occurs only in two pronominal adverbs viz. in *अथम्* *it tham* so and *कथम्* *ka tham* how† with regard to which it may be left undecided whether their *tham* is connected with the superlative suffix with a phonetic alteration just as *thama* in *प्रथमम्* *prathama* the first (p 379). The Latin *aut* appears to me an abbreviation of *autē* so that it agrees in its formation with *utē* *ul* and *istē* *istidem* as also with the Sanscrit *इति* *iti* so †. With regard to the *au* of *aufugio aufero* I see no adequate reason for dissenting from the common opinion which regards it as a weakened form of

* Compare Heidelb Jahrb 1818 p 470 and Demonstrative Basch, p 14

† The *t* of *iti-dem* might also be regarded as the weakening of the *a* of *ita* caused by the addition of weight through the *dem*

ab * On the other hand, the Sanscrit inseparable preposition *ava*, mentioned above (§ 377), evidently re-appears in the Homeric *ἀνέρω*,† without the ancient connection between this prepositional *αν̄* and the particle *αν̄* being thereby removed, as, as has been remarked above, the Sanscrit preposition *ava* and the Zend demonstrative base of similar sound, are cognate forms

379 It has been elsewhere pointed out‡ that of the three forms into which the originally short *a* in Greek has been distributed (*e*, *o*, *ā*), most frequently *e* occurs in places where a Sanscrit *a* is combined with *u*, more rarely the weightier *o*, and the still heavier *α* never § The Greek diphthong *av*, however, corresponds to the Vṛddhi diphthong *औ* *du*, as *ναῦς* = नौस् *nāus*. its *α* is therefore long, and is found as such in *ναός*, &c, for *ναός* = नावस् *nāvas* If, then, the final vowel of the Indo-Zend *ava*, Slavonic *ovo*, be removed, and then the *u*, formed by the melting down of the *v*, be combined in a diphthong with the initial vowel, we should have *eu* or *ou* As, however, *av* has arisen, we must regard the lengthening of the initial vowel as compensation for the final vowel, which has been suppressed This compensation, however, does not take place universally, for as *oū* is plainly shewn, by its use, to be of pronominal origin,|| it may be best compared with our demonstrative base *ava*, of which it is

* Without this weakening, *affero*, from *abfero*, would be identical with *affero*, from *adfero*, and the change of the *b* into the cognate vowel may have taken place in order to avoid this identity, as, *vice versū*, the *u* of *duo* (originally a *v*) seems to have been hardened into *b* in *bis* If, for this reason, *au* has arisen from *ab* on one occasion, it might be still further adopted without its being occasioned from a view to perspicuity

† Compare A Benary in the *Beil Jahrb* May 1830, p 764

‡ Vocalismus, p 193, &c

§ This combination produces *औ* *ō* (§ 2), which, before vowels, is resolved into *av*, as, *gav-ām*, “*bovum*,” from *gō*

|| Compare Hartung II 3, &c

further to be remarked that in Zend in departure from § 155 it forms the nominative and accusative neuter not by *æt* but by *m*. For *aem* according to § 42 *aum* must be employed but in its place we have the irregular form *ætā* *aom* and the same in the masculine accusative*. I agree with Hirtung (l c) in considering the Greek *οὐν* likewise as an accusative whether it be masculine or as we may assume from the Zend *aom* neuter. The negative particle *ow* is also to be classed here according to what has been said in § 371 and before in my Review of Rosen's Veda Specimen regarding the derivation of negative particles from pronouns it has the same relation to *ouκ* which owing to its terminating with a consonant is used before vowels 'that in Latin the prefix *ne* has to *neq* an abbreviation of *neque*. *Ouκ* is therefore an abbreviation of *ouκi* (with the change of the tennus *ouχi*) the *κi* of which is perhaps, connected with the Sanscrit enclitic pronominal base *चि* *chi* of which more hereafter. To this *चि* *chi* the *च* *cha* which is likewise enclitically used and with which the Latin *que* is identical bears the same relation that *क्स्* *las* who does to its neuter *क्स्* *lim*. If then the syllable *κi* of *ouκi* is connected with the Indian *चि* *chi* it is also related to the Latin *que* of *neque* (compare § 380 *sub finem*).

380 It remains for us to shew that an offshoot of the pronominal base *aia* exists in German also. Such is our *auch* the demonstrative signification of which is easily discoverable in sentences like *er ist blind und auch lahm* he is blind and also lame in which the *auch* adds to the quality blind as that another thus he is lame and thus blind. The *auch* performs the same service for a single quality that the conjunction *dass* that does for an entire member of a sentence for in sentences like I am not willing (*dass*) that the should come the conjunction *dass* expresses generally

* Compare Burnouf's Yaçna Notes p 5

or only grammatically, the subject of my will, and "he should come" expresses it particularly and logically. In Old High German, *auh* (*ouh*, *ouc*, &c) has other meanings besides *auch*, also, which are elsewhere expressed only by derivatives from pronouns, as *denn*, *aber*, *sondern*, "for," "but," &c. (see Gräff I 120), and the Gothic *auk* occurs only with the meaning "for." If *auch*, also, were the only meaning of the conjunction under discussion, in all German dialects, we might suppose it to be connected with the Gothic *aukan*, "to increase."† But what connection have *denn* and *sondern* ("for" and "but") with the verb "to increase?" Moreover, verbal ideas and verbal roots are the last to which I should be inclined to refer the derivation of a conjunction. All genuine conjunctions spring from pronouns (§ 105), as I have endeavoured to shew in a particular instance in my Review of Foister's Grammar.‡ But whence comes the *ch* of our *auch*? I do not think that it can be regarded in the same light as that of *dach* and *noch*, which have been likewise explained as pronominal formations,¶ but, in Gothic, terminate with *h* (*nauh*, *thauh*), while our *auch* bears the same relation to the Gothic *auk* that *mich*, *dich*, *sich*, do to *mik*, *thuk*, *sik*. The *k*, therefore, of *auk* may perhaps, in its origin, coincide with that of the so-called pronominal accusative, and, like the latter, belong to the appended pronoun *स्म sma* (§§ 174, 175.), which, in Zend, becomes *hma*, but in Prakrit and Pali is transposed to *mha*. But if the pronoun *ava* were used in

* The meanings "but" and "also," which I have, in accordance with Fulda, given elsewhere (Demonstrative Bases, p 14), rest on no authority, as Ulfilas gives *auk* only when answering to the Greek γάρ (Grimm III 272)

† Compare Sanscrit *āh*, "to collect," whence *samāha*, "crowd"

‡ Heidelb Jahrb 1818, p 473

¶ § 370 and Demonstrative Bases, p 18

Pāli its ablative would be *aramhā* and locative *aramhi* (comp § 369 Table) In the Gothic *auk* the sounds which surround the *h* in these forms are lost and the final vowel of the base is suppressed as in the Greek *αυτος* With regard to the guttural however *auk* bears the same relation to *aramhā* *aramhi* that *ikh* I does to *अह* *ahan* If of the forms of negation mentioned at p 533 the last were the original one we might suppose the *χ* to be related to the Pāli pronominal locatives in *हि* *mihi* as *χ* usually represents the Sanscrit and Pāli *ह* *h* (§ 23)

381 As regards the etymology of the base *ara* the first member of it is easily perceived to be the demonstrative *a* and the latter portion appears to be analogous to *na* as from the base *i* is also to *ēia* also merely &c and with the accusative termination *ēiam* so from the base *ē* (§ 266) *ēia* and *e-ia* therefore would be as closely connected as *a na* and *ē-na* and is from the latter has arisen the Gothic term for the numeral one (theme *aina* § 308) so from *ēia* would come the Zend numeral for one *aēia* with *a* prefixed according to § 38 In Gothic corresponds *aiv* (theme *aua*) which however as all time *i e* eternity answers to the cognate form in Zend is logical antithesis or as another to this It may be observed that it is highly probable that our *all* Gothic *alls* *omnis* (theme *alla*) has been formed by assimilation from the base *alya* *alius* and has therefore experienced the same fate as the Greek *ἄλλος* Old High German *alles* else and the Latin *ille olle* In Sanscrit from the energetic subjective demonstrative base *sa* he this that (§ 345) arises the general term *all* viz सर्व *sarva* every plural सर्व *sarve* all and the adverbs of time सदा *sada* and सदा *sada* ever from the latter comes the adjective सनातन *sandātana* perpetual The final member of *sarva* is identical with that of our सर्व *sarva* एव *ēv* and इव *iva* and with respect to the *r* analogous

forms to *sar va* occur in *ētar-hi*, "then," and *kar-hi*, "when?"* the *h* of which I consider as an abbreviation of *dh*, and the whole *dh* as a cognate suffix to the Greek *θι* (compare § 23.) Thus *ētarhi*, exclusive of the prefixed pronoun *ē*, agrees with *τόθι*, and *kar-hi* with *πόθι*, from *κόθι*. In the Gothic, *tha-r*, "there," in our *dar* in *immerdar*, (always) *darbringen*, "to offer," *darstellen*, "to represent," &c, and *hva-i*, "where?" (compare *uar-um*, "wherefore," *war-aus*, "whence," &c) the syllable *hi* or *dh* of the Indian prototype is wanting. We may notice, also, the compound *har-yis*, "which?" the last member of which belongs to the Sanscrit relative base *ṛ ya*. In Lithuanian we have in *kittur* (*kūt-tur*), "somewhere else," a form analogous to the Gothic locative adverbs in *r*. With the Sanscrit *sarva*, "every," may be compared the Old High German *sār*, "*omnino*," our *sehr*, "much." But to return to the Gothic base *ava*, we see clearly enough the pronominal origin of this word in expressions like *ni, arv*, "*nunquam*," *ni aiva dagē*, "on no day whatever," and still more in our *ye*, Old High German *ēo*, *io*, which latter has been formed from *arv*, by suppressing the *a*, and changing the *v* into a vowel, and by this alteration it has become estranged from *ēua*, "eternity." A word, however, signifying merely eternity or time, would scarcely have entered into combinations like *ēo-man*, "*aliquis*," our "*jemand*," in which *ēo* may be regarded as equivalent to the Zend *aēva*, "one," so, also, in *ēo-wiht*, "*aliquid*," literally "one thing," or "any one thing." *ionēi* means "anywhere," and, with respect to its *i*, agrees with the abovementioned locative adverbs (*than*, *hwa*), and, in regard to its entire final syllable, with pronouns compounded with *na*, *no* (§ 376), and thus affords a striking proof that the preceding *io* cannot, from its origin,

* The Indian grammarians assume, without cause or reason, a suffix *hi* for both these expressions, and distribute them thus, *ēta-ihi*, *ka-ihi*

be a term for denoting time. Perhaps however the Old High German *io* is not in all places the corruption of the Gothic *au* for a short way of arriving at it is through the old relative base *ya*. It is certain that the Lithuanian *yu* belongs to it which in its use before comparatives in sentences like *yu bagotesnis yu 'szykotesnis*, the richer the more niggardly corresponds exactly to the use of the German language only that the same expression is always retained in the corresponding sentence which may be done in German also as in Sanscrit the idea of one* is expressed by attraction after relatives by *ya* and after interrogatives by *ka* (see § 308). The Lithuanian *yu* however is clearly the instrumental of the base *ya* which elsewhere signifies he but in this kind of expression retains the old relative meaning. In Lithuanian *yo* may be used for *yu*, and if this is not merely an abbreviation of *yu* (*yuo*) it is the genitive of the pronoun referred to for *jis* (for *yus*) he forms in the genitive *yo*. Rubig renders the sooner the better by *yo pirm-yaus yo geraus*†. Grif (I 517) rightly compares the Old High German *io* with this Lithuanian *yo* and the former must therefore be distinguished from the *io* which are

* The meaning of this is that if in Sanscrit a sentence be interrogative the object of the verb likewise becomes interrogative as it were by attraction instead of being as in English indefinite. Thus in the passage referred to § 308 कथं स पुरुष पाथे कः पानयति हन्ति कम् *kathan sa purushah p rti a han ghatayati hanti kam* How O Partha can that spirit cause to be killed whom can it kill whom? The same attraction takes place in a relative sentence. Thus in the Second Book of the Hitopadesa, यदेव रोचते यस्मै भवेत् तस्य सुन्दर *yadeva rochatē yasm i bhavēt tat tasya sundaram* Whatever is agreeable to whomsoever (in English it would be to any one soever) that to him will be beautiful. — *Translator's Note*

† As addenda to § 306 may be noticed the uninflected comparatives which accord with the superlatives in *aus* as (§ 307)

corruptions of the Gothic *av*. In Latin we find a form corresponding to this *av* (theme *ava*) in *ævum* which has quite lost a pronominal signification. It may be left undecided whether the Greek *αἰών* should be referred to this class. But we must remark that the syllable *va* of अव *ava*, एव *ēva*, and इव *iva*, is, as it appears to me, of itself a pronoun, and connected with the enclitic *vat*, "as." Perhaps the *v* is a weakened form of *m* (§ 63), and *va* therefore connected with the demonstrative *ima*. Observe that the derivative suffixes *vat* and *mat*, in the strong cases *vant*, *mant*, are completely identical in meaning, as are also *min* and *vin*.

382 We come now to the relative, the base of which is, in Sanscrit and Zend, *ya*, feminine *yā*, and the offshoots of which, in the European cognate languages, have been already frequently mentioned. With respect to the Greek *ὅς*, *ἥ*, *ὅ*, answering to the Sanscrit *yas*, *yā*, *yat*, we may notice how frequently the Indian य *y* is represented by the Greek spiritus asper. And *ὅς* has the same relation to *yas* that *ὁμῆς* has to the Vêda युष्मे *yushmê*, "ye," *ὁσμίνῃ* to युष्म *yudhma*, "strife," *ἥπαρ* to यकृत् *yakrut* and *jecur*, *ἄζω* to यञ् *yaj*, "to honour," "adore," *ἥμπερὸς* to यञ् *yam*, "to restrain." The circumstance, that the relative is dialectically replaced by the article, is as little proof of the connection of the two, as our German *welcher*, "which," being replaced by the demonstrative *der*, "the," is, that it is cognate to it in form. Since, as early as Homer, the use of the true relative is very common, and the relative expressions *ὅσος*, *οἷος*, *ἡλίκος*, *ἥμος*, answer to the demonstrative derivatives *τόσος*, *τοῖος*, *τηλίκος*, *τῆμος*, we may find in this alone sufficient evidence, exclusive of proofs drawn from the Sanscrit and other cognate languages, of the original existence of a distinct relative base in Greek.

383 In Zend the relative occurs also with a demonstra-

tive meaning thus we frequently find the accusative *yim* in the sense of *hunc*. This guides us to the Lithuanian *jis* he (euphonic for *yus* § 135)* accusative *jin*. The dative *yam* corresponds with the Sanscrit *yasmāi* Zend *yahmāi* as does the locative *yame* (§ 176) with *yasmin* *yahmāi*. In Slavonic *je* is the most perfect form that has been retained in the masculine and neuter singular of this pronominal base (see p 353) in the neuter plural *ja* agrees most exactly with the Zend and Veda *yā* (§ 255 a) just as in the nominative singular feminine *yā* (*ya* she which) corresponds to the Sanscrit Zend *ya*. The masculine form *i* is derived as has been already remarked by suppressing the vowel of the base and vocalising the *y* and thus resembles tolerably closely the Gothic relative particle *ei* (= *i*). In Gothic however there exist derivatives from the base under discussion which are even yet more similar. For instance the conjunction *ya bai* if springs from it as the cognate form of the Sanscrit *यदि ya di* which signifies the same. The suffixes alone differ. The Gothic *bai* is a corruption of *ba* and appears in this form in the compound *thauh yaba*. There is an analogous form to *yabai yaba* viz *iba ibai** which is used particularly as an interrogative particle and proceeds from the pronominal base *i*. Combined also with the negative particle *m* *iba* means if thus *miba* (for *m* *iba* as *not* he is not for *ni* *ist*) if not where we must remark that the Sanscrit *इति* connected with *iba* as regards its base likewise means if and indeed in like manner only

* In Zend the *i* of *yim* is not produced by the euphonic influence of the *y* for we also find *dum* for *d* *m* (§ 343) and *drujhm* for *drujhēm* from *drugh* a demon

† Compare Demonstrative Bases p 15 and Graff (I 75) who assents to my opinion but designates the pronominal bases as adverbs of place or locative particles

in combination with particles preceding it, so that *nāl* (*na + u*), "if not," is, as it were, the prototype of the Gothic *n'-iba* (see § 360). It can hardly be that the suffix, also, does not contain somewhat of Sanscrit. I conjecture a connection between the syllables *na* in *na*, "as," *ai-a*, "also," &c., and that of *e-iam*, "so," or what almost amounts to the same thing with the enclitic *an' iat*, "as." And thus the derivation of the Gothic adverbs in *ba* may be shewn*. It cannot appear surprising that the *i* is hardened to *b*, for in Bengál every Sanscrit *v* is pronounced as *b*, and in New German, also, we have *b* for *v* in the older dialects. In Lithuanian the *u* of the Sanscrit *na*, "as," is altered to *p*, as we have before seen *pa* formed from *प na* (§ 359.) No more satisfactory derivation, therefore, can, in my opinion, be given for pronominal adverbs terminating in *ipo* or *ip*, than from the *प na* above mentioned, particularly as the latter is constantly subjoined, as *तद् प na tad na*, "as this." So, in Lithuanian, *taipo* or *taip*, "so," *i e* "as thus," from the base *ta + ipo*, *kaipo* or *kaiip*, "how"? *kitaipo*, *kitaip*, and *antraipo*, *antraip*, "else." Another view of these impressions might be taken, according to which *i* would be allotted to the principal pronoun, which would be regarded as neuter (§, 157), thus *tai-po*, *kai-po*, &c. In this case the vowel of the Sanscrit *प na* would be lost in Lithuanian, but I prefer the former opinion, and believe that the Gothic *hwa*, "how"? taken as *hva-na*, must be

"

"

* Not *aba*, for the *a* belongs to the adjective base, hence those in *u* have, not *v-aba* but *u-ba*, but those in *ya*, for the most part, lay aside their final vowel, and form *i-ba* for *ya-ba*. Examples *fróda-ba*, "intelligent," from *FRŌDA* (nom *fróths*), *harda-ba*, "hard," from *HARDU*; *andaugi-ba*, "evident," perhaps from the substantive base *ANDAugIA* (nominative *andaugi*), "visage." The full form is seen in *gabau ya-ba*, "willing."

referred to this class for it cannot appear remarkable that the termination *ia* in Gothic should not have been everywhere hardened to *ba* but that a trace of the original form should be still left. But if the *sia* so answering to *hiava* does not as has been before conjectured belong to the Sanscrit reflective base *स्व sia* (§ 341) I should then regard it as analogous to *hiava* and divide it thus *sh ia* so that it would contain the demonstrative base *sa* mentioned in § 346 from which in Sanscrit ³ comes among other words *सद्ग्रा sa drisa* similar literally appearing like this. But to return to the Sanscrit *yadi* if its *di* is probably a weakened form of the suffix which we have seen above in इति *iti* thus and elsewhere also in अति *ati* over and altered to धि *dhi* in अधि *adhi* to towards. The Prakrit जई *jai* (§ 19) has quite dropped the *T* sound just as the Lithuanian *yey* though both languages the Greek *ei* is as it were prepared as to the connection of which with our relative base I have no longer any doubt as all is regular as far as the suppression of the semi-vowel in the initial sound and by a similar suppression we have not been prevented from recognising the Vedic युष्मे *yushmé* ye in the Æolic ὕμεις.

384 The Gothic participle *yau* which in the signification whether coincides with the Sanscrit यद् *yadi* which together with *if* means also whether supports the derivation of *ba* from *ia* given above for *yau* is for the most part in the same relation to *yaba* that in Lithuanian *taip* bears to the more full *taipo*. The form *yau* however probably owes its origin to a time when in more perfect accordance with the Sanscrit *yaba* for *yava* was still used whence after suppressing the *a* *yava* must be formed as e.g. the base *thiva* servant in the nominative *thus* accusative *thuu*. But if *yau* arose at a time when *yaba* was already in use for *yava* we should have to notice the relation of the Latin *au* (*aufugio aufero*) to *ab*. The

Lithuanian has likewise a particle *yau*, which is connected, in its base at least, with the Gothic *it* signifies "already," *ie* "at this" (time), and therefore reminds us of *jam*, which, in Latin, is the only remnant of the pronominal base under discussion. Perhaps the *u* in the Lithuanian form is the dissolution of a nasal, by which *yam* and *yau* would be brought still closer, and the latter would be related to the former, as *bunau*, "I was," to the Sanscrit अभवम् *abhavam* (compare § 255 g). With the Latin *jam* and Lithuanian *yau* must be classed, also, the Gothic *yu*, "now," "already," which, in respect to its *u*, is an analogous form to the *nu*, "now," mentioned above (§ 370), and, with *than*, forms the combination *yuthan*, "already." This furnishes a new proof that *yu* is probably but an abbreviation of the Sanscrit द्यु *dyu*, "day," for if this were the case, it would follow that the demonstrative, and *thanyu* or *thayu* would be used, as in Latin *hodie*, and Old High German *hutu*, in Sanscrit *a-dya*, in Greek ἄήμερον. The Old High German *ie* in *ie zuo*, whence our *jetzo*, *jetzt*, is probably a weakened form of the Gothic *yu*, and literally signifies "to this," with a preposition subjoined. It first occurs in an inscription of the twelfth century (Graff I 516), for which reason it cannot be matter of surprise that the *u* is corrupted to *e*.

385 There remain to be noticed, in order to complete the list of the remnants of the Sanscrit relative base, the affirmative particle *ya*, *yai*, (compare § 371,) and the copulative *yah*, "and," "also." The form *ya* may be taken as neuter, analogous to the interrogative *hva*, "what," and, like the latter, it is indeclinable. The more usual form *yai* may have sprung from *ya*, through the inclination, which the *a* manifests, even in Sanscrit, to form a diphthong with the addition of an *i* (§ 158). Hence there arises an apparent affinity of declension with the sole pronominal neuter in Lithuanian, viz *tai*. The copulative

particle *yah* is identical in its final *h* with the Latin *que* and Sanscrit ञ *cha* which is likewise subjoined and which owes its origin to the interrogative base *la* on which we will bestow a closer examination in the following paragraphs

386 The interrogative bases in Sanscrit are three according to the three primary vowels viz *ka ku li* The two latter may be looked upon as weakened forms of the first and principal one for which reason I shall take them in the order of the diminution of the weight of the *a** From क *ka* springs the whole declension of the masculine as also that of the neuter with the exception of the singular nominative and accusative किम् *kim* The neuter कत् *kat* which is obsolete as far as regards its isolated use and on which the Latin form *quod* is founded is easily recognised in the interrogative particle कश्चिद् *kach chit* euphonic for *kat chit* it also appears as the prefix in expressions like क्वद् *kad* *adhvan*† a bad street literally what a street! Other interrogative expressions are similarly prefixed in order to represent a person or thing as bad or contemptible as I have already previously noticed‡ But since then my conjecture regarding the cognate form in Sanscrit has been still more confirmed by the Zend where क्वद् *kat* is actually the common neuter of the interrogative From the masculine and neuter base *la* springs in Sanscrit and Zend the feminine base *ka* which according to § 137 appears in the nominative singular without inflexion

* Vocalismus p. 27 Rem. 10

† *Kad* for *lat* according to § 93

‡ Gotting. Anzeig. 1811 p. 359 Walon on the other hand follows the native grammarians in deriving both the interrogative particle *lat chit* and *kad-adhvan* and similar compounds from *lat* for *kut* bad and it appears that the connection of the prefixes *kat* and *lu* with the interrogative has quite escaped the Indian grammarians

None of the European cognate languages agrees better with the twin Asiatic sisters than the Lithuanian, in which the masculine nominative *kas* is completely identical with the Sanscrit कस् *kas*, over which, too, it maintains this superiority in the retention of the original form, that its *s* remains unalterable, and is not liable to suppression, while the Sanscrit *kas* is changed into *kah*, *kó*, and *ka*, according to the quantity of the initial sound following, or before a pause, and retains the original sibilant, according to a universal law of sound, only before त् *t* and थ् *th*, and changes it before च् *ch* छ् *chh*, or द् *t*, द् *th*, into the sibilant of the corresponding organ. In the corresponding Zend form there is this remarkable peculiarity, that, if followed by the singular of the pronoun of the second person, the latter combines with the preceding interrogative, and forms one word—a combination which is of course only phonetic, and has no influence on the sense. Though I have no doubt this combination has been occasioned simply by the tendency in several languages to unite *s* and *t*, or *th*, still in the case before us a conjunctive vowel has been, in the course of time, introduced in Zend, and indeed, according to the oldest MSS., an *ē*,* in the sense of § 30. As, however, in the edited codex of the V. S., in two out of four passages in which कस्तेषाम् *kaśēthwām*, “who thee,” should be read, we find instead *kaśē thwām*, and in one passage, indeed, these words occur combined, but still with a long *ē*, *kaśēthwām*, and, in the fourth case, there is an erroneous reading, *kaśitkwām*; I was therefore formerly of opinion (Gramm. Crit. p. 327), that we might consider the *ē* or *i*, combined with *kaś*, as analogous to the Greek demonstrative *ἵ*, a conjecture which must be withdrawn, owing to the various readings since published by Burnouf, and the inference (l. c. p. 108) thence deduced. With the dative

† Burnouf's Yaçna, Note R. p. 134

𐬚𐬀 *lé* and with *𐬚𐬀* *nd* *man* 𐬚𐬀 *las* forms without an auxiliary vowel the combination 𐬚𐬀𐬚𐬀 *laslé* 𐬚𐬀𐬚𐬀 *lasnd* (Burnouf l c p 409)

387 According to § 116 from the Sanscrit Zend *Li* 𐬚𐬀𐬚𐬀 interrogative base *KA* must come the Greek *KO* which retained in Ionic but elsewhere became *ΠO* from the easy interchange of gutturals and labials. The declension however of this *KO* or *ΠO* is disused in favour of that of *τις* and the only remains of it are adverbs and derivatives as *κοτε ποτε κῶς κοτερον ποτερον* (see 𐬚𐬀𐬚𐬀 *kataras* whether of the two?) *κοσος ποσος κοῖος ποῖος* which are clear enough proofs of the original existence of a *κος κη κο*. These form the foundation of those cases of the Latin interrogative and relative which belong to the second declension viz *quod* (=𐬚𐬀𐬚𐬀 *lat*) *quo* and in the plural *qui quorum quos*. The plural of the neuter *quæ* differs from the common declension according to which it should be *qua*. The form *quæ* however may have remained from the dual which is otherwise lost in Latin and may have assumed a generally plural signification for *quæ* agrees as has been already remarked (§ 234) exactly with the Sanscrit dual 𐬚𐬀𐬚𐬀. The Latin feminine is founded in the cases peculiar to it on the Indo-Zend feminine base *lā* compare for instance *quam* with 𐬚𐬀𐬚𐬀 *lāsām* *quā* with 𐬚𐬀𐬚𐬀 *lās*. The singular nominative *quæ* however is remarkable standing isolated in Latin grammar as the neuter plural nominative just mentioned for the demonstrative *hic* (of which hereafter) is in its origin identical with the pronoun under discussion the feminine nominative of which should be *qua* which it actually is in the compound *ali qua* &c. Whence then the forms *quæ* and *hæc*? If they are not corruptions of *qua* for which no reason can be assigned or weakened forms of the originally long *quā* (§ 137) by the last element *ā* (= *a + a*) becoming *i* there

is no course left but to regard the *æ* of *quæ*, *hæ-c*, as a remnant of the feminine character 𑀓𑀲 , mentioned in § 119. As, however, in Sanscrit and Zend, the masculine and neuter *a* of the primitive is dropped before this feminine *i*, and from 𑀓𑀲 *ka* might be formed, in the feminine base, *ki* (compare § 172), but not *ké*, I now prefer, contrary to my former opinion,* the explanation pointed out above that the long *ā*, which should be found in the uninflected nominative of bases in *ā*, has for once been weakened, as is usual in the vocative of the corresponding Sanscrit class of words, in which सुते *sutē*, (= *sutar*) "daughter," bears the same relation to *sutā* that *quæ* does to 𑀓𑀲 *kā*, and, secondly, with the complete abbreviation of the *ā*, which, in Sanscrit, is the case only in a small number of vocatives, e.g. अमा *amma*, "mother," from *ammā*.

388 In Gothic, according to a universal law of permutation, the old tenuis of the interrogative base has passed into *h*, and as gutturals freely combine with *v*, with this *h* a *v* has been joined as euphonic, hence *HVA* from 𑀓𑀲 *ka*, and, in the feminine, *HVÖ* (according to §. 69.) from 𑀓𑀲 *kā*. The *v* has remained alone in our *wer*, "who?" We have before drawn attention to the masculine nominative *hva-s*, with respect to its grammatical importance (§ 135), and have remarked that the feminine nominative *hvō*, as also *sō*, "thus," has not admitted, owing to its being monosyllabic, the shortening of the *ō* to *a*, which takes place elsewhere in this case (§ 137). In the neuter *hva* the inflection *ta* is wanting, in which respect the Old High German *huaz* (Old Saxon *huat*) is more perfect. In Old Saxon, according to § 255 a., a masculine and neuter base *ko* and a feminine *ka* might be looked for, but the simple declension of the interrogative does not occur, but only that compounded with the definitive, originally

* Influence of the Pronouns in the Formation of Words, p. 3

relative pronoun (§ 283) hence noni *ky i* (lo i § 255 *d*)
la ya lo-e genitive masculine and neuter *lo-ego* feminine
lo-eya &c. The same principle is followed in Old High
German only the cases do not occur in which the combina-
tion of the interrogative base and old relative base would be
most perceptible with the exception of the instrumental
huu (= *hiu*) our *ic* the simple form of which would be
huu (*hiu*). It is a question whether *huu* be really an in-
strumental and not from the Gothic *hianna* as (p 510)
The feminine if it were used would be in the singular nomi-
native *huu* and in the plural *huio* (Grimm 296). The mas-
culine singular forms *hu r hu s hu mu hu n* (or *hunnau*) and
the case is the same here with regard to the more concealed
appended pronoun as above with *der d r d iuu den* (§ 356).
The Old Saxon on the other hand has in the masculine nomi-
native singular *hine* clearly the old relative base just as in the
demonstrative *thið* which latter forms the truest counterpart
of the Sanscrit base *ꣳṭya* (§ 353). The Middle Nether-
landish shews in the whole masculine singular of the inter-
rogative the appended relative *y ya* the semivowel being
corrupted to *i* and the *a* to *e* but the guttural of the inter-
rogative base has disappeared and only the enphonic affix *u*
has remained thus *u ic ic-ics ic icn ic icn*. With respect
to the latter portion of the word compare the Sanscrit *yay*
yasya yasmā yam, the Lithuanian *yis yo yam yin* and the
Gothic *yis yis yamina yana* contained in *hiar yis* (p 536).
The Old High German *yener* is also to be viewed in the
same light the base of the old relative being added that is to
say to the Gothic base *yaina* and what has been said above
(p 501) of *deser* applies to the long *ē*. Perhaps too the *ē* of
the locative adverb *ionēr* anywhere (p 536) which has
been before mentioned is to be viewed in the same light as
from *iona ir*. The feminine of *yener* is *yenn* with *i* suppressed
(compare § 288 Rem 5) on the other hand in the Middle
High German *jeniu* and according to Nother *emiu* and in

the masculine, *enér* If these forms, in which the initial *y* is wanting, are not abbreviated from *yener*, *yenu*, but genuine, then they would belong to the Sanscrit *ana*, "this," and Lithuanian *ana-s*, Slavonic *on*, "that" (comp. Grass, I 398)

389 We turn to the second interrogative base mentioned in § 386, viz. कु *ku*, from which spring only the adverbs कुत्र *ku-tra*, "where?" and कुतश्च *ku-tas*, "whither?" perhaps, also, क्व *ka*, "where?" if it is to be distributed into *ku-a*, not into *k'-ia*; further in the Zend *𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀* *kutha*, "how?" which would lead us to expect a Sanscrit कुतः *kuthā*, for which, however, कथम् *katham* is used, for कु *ku* is prefixed in a deteriorating, derisive sense, as in कुतश्च *kutani*, "having an ugly body," properly "having a what sort of body?" a title of Kuvera In Zend this *ku* occurs as a prefix to verbs, where it gives additional emphasis to the negative expressed by नोति *nōit*, and signifies "any one" Thus we read in the beginning of the Vendidad, 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 *nōit kudot sātīm** *yēidhu zi nōit azēm daidhyannm*, &c., "no one could have created them if I had not created them" Under this class might be brought the Latin genitive *cu-jus* and the dative *cu-i*, which in a measure belong to the fourth declension, as the obsolete forms *quo-jus*, *quo-i*, from the base *QVO = KO*, क *ka*, do to the second. It is not requisite, therefore, to consider the classical forms *cujus* and *cui* as corruptions of *quo-jus*, *quo-i*, for as the base *cu*, as is apparent from the Sanscrit and Zend, is in its origin equally old with *QVO*, from it may have proceeded *cujus*, *cui*, *cujas*, or *cujatis*,

* This appears to me an abbreviation of *śāvatīm*, and presupposes a Sanscrit *śh-āvat* together with *ētāvat* (from *ēta*, § 344) The initial *ē* has been dropped, but has left its influence on the sibilant following hence *sātīm* for *śhātīm* (§§ 51 52), not *hātīm* Remark the Zend 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 *shāu*, mentioned before, as compared with the Sanscrit *asāu*, unless the conjecture mentioned § 55 is well grounded

which may have existed together with *quojus quor quojas* as *quid* from the base *QII* together with *quod* from *QIO* Considering however that in Sanscrit the whole interrogative declension with the exception only of *Im* comes from the base *ka*—on which the Latin *QUO* is founded—just as in Lithuanian it all comes from *KA* and in Gothic from *HIA* and that the rarely occurring base *ku*[†] has in the European cognate languages in particular left us traces which can be relied upon—under these considerations I now prefer contrary to my former opinion * deriving *cujus cui* from *quojus quor* so that after rejecting the *o* the semi vowel preceding has been changed into a vowel *is* in Sanscrit *u* frequently appears as the abbreviation of the syllable *va* as *ukta* spoken for *vakta* and even in the Latin *cutio* (*concutio*) from *quatio* *Qu* however = *kv* if the *v* in this place be pronounced like the English or German *w*—and the Latin like the Gothic (§ 86 1) loves the euphonic addition of *ai* after gutturals hence the forms *QIO* and *HIA* in the interrogative correspond in their difference from the Sanscrit Zend and Lithuanian *KA* and thus *qIa* and the Gothic *ahia* river shew an agreement when contrasted with the Sanscrit *अप* *ap* water with the common interchange between gutturals and labials We must observe also the relation of *angvis* to the Sanscrit *अङ्ग* *ahis* snake and Greek *ἔχιδνα* If then as I doubt not *cujus cujas cui* spring from *quojus quojas quor* as *cum* since from *quum* *cur* from *quare* then we must also derive *uter uti ut ubi* and *unde* from lost forms like *quoter* &c and the latter would correspond tolerably well with the Gothic *hvathar* (§ 292) It is certain that *uter* and the other interrogative and relative expressions commencing with *u* have lost a preceding guttural as *amo* has compared with *आमयामि* *kāmayami* I love and *nosco nascor* from *gnosco gnascor* The more perfect *cubi cunde* is still preserved in the com-

† Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words p 3

pounds *ali-cubi*, *ali-cunde*,* as the root of the verb substantive is retained more truly in the compound participles *ab-sens* and *præ-sens*, than in the simple *ens*, answering to the Sanscrit *sat*, nominative *san*, accusative *santam*. Under this head are to be classed, also, *unquam*, *usquam*, *uspiam*, *usque* the interrogative meaning, however, is removed by their lost element, just as in *quisquam*, *quispiam*, and *quisque*. In abbreviating *cu* (from *QVO*) to *u* all these forms agree, in some measure, with our German *uer*, "who?" in which only the element which has been added for the sake of euphony, according to § 86 1, has remained of the consonants which belonged originally to the base. It might, indeed, be asserted, that the *u* of *uter*, and other interrogative expressions beginning with *u*, has nothing in common with the euphonic *v* of the base *QVO*, but that it is the original *a* of *क्ल* *la* weakened, and that thus *uter* is a corruption of *क्ल* *la* *taras*, by simply dropping the *k* and changing the *a* to *u*. To this it may be objected that *u* in Latin does, indeed, often enough correspond to an Indian *a*, but still principally only before liquids and before a final *s* the *क्ल* *a* of *क्ल* *la* *tara-s*, however, it might be expected, would, under the most favourable circumstances, remain unchanged, or, more probably, be altered to *ō*, as in *κότερον*, or to *ě* or *ĩ*.

390 The third interrogative base *क्ल* *ku* is more fertile of derivatives than *क्ल* *ku*, both in Sanscrit and in the cognate languages. From it comes the word *kim*, "what?" (as nominative and accusative) which has been frequently mentioned, which is so far isolated in Grammar, as otherwise substantive and adjective neuters in *a* alone make *m* the sign of the nominative and accusative singular (§ 152),

* I do not think that these words can be distributed thus, *alicubi*, *alicunde*, and that we can assume a compound of *ALIQUE* with *ubi*, *unde*, but as *ali*, as the abbreviation of *ALIO*, is the first member of the compound *ali-quis*, so it is also that of *ali-cubi* and *ali-cunde*.

and bases in *i* use the simple theme We should have looked therefore for *li* or according to the pronominal declension कित् *lit* before sonant letters कित् *lid* Of the prior existence of this form there can be scarce any doubt after what has been before said of the neuter इत् *it* and चित् *chit* it is however confirmed by the Latin *quid* and the Lithuanian *kuttur* elsewhere which I regard as a compound and distribute thus *lit tur* with regard to which the *szit tas* before cited (§ 357) may be again brought to notice which with reference to its lost portion is identical with that of *lit tur* of which mention has been before made as locative adverb That in Sanscrit also there existed a masculine nominative कित् *lis* as prototype to the Latin *quis* perhaps with a more full declension is proved by the compounds नाकित् *mālis* and नाकिस *nakis* which occur perhaps only in the Vedas and the former of which probably signifies the same as the corresponding *nēquis* (from *mēquis* § 371) and Zend *māchis** while the latter agrees in meaning with the Zend *naēchis* not any one no one Grammarians however include both expressions among the indeclinables and write them नाकित् *mākir* नाकित् *nakir* which Colebrooke renders together with नाकित् *mākim* and नाकित् *nakim* by no except † without signifying that they are masculine nominatives which might be very easily understood without the aid of the Zend

391 Other derivatives from the interrogative base कि

* Gramm Crit p 328

† Sanscrit Grammar p L1 On account of the mutual transitions of final *s* and *r* and the uniformity of the phonetic laws to which they are subject after vowels other than *o* it might remain undecided in the expressions given above whether *s* or *r* is the original final letter As however with reference to *mārim* and *naṛim* they are shown to be masculine nominatives it is matter of astonishment that *mārir* and *naṛir* could ever be taken for the original forms

kz are *kīdīsha*, "similar to whom?" and analogous forms, of which more hereafter, and *कियत्* *kryat*, "how much?" in the strong cases (§. 129) *कियन्त* *kryant*, hence nominative masculine *kryān*, accusative *kryantam*. As *k* easily passes into *h*, and, in Germanic, the old tenues are almost always changed into aspirates, and *e g k* to *h*, and as *हृद्* *hṛd* and *हृदया*, "heart," correspond to the Latin *cor* and Greek *κῆρ* and *καρδία*, so, perhaps, also *ह*, "for," may be regarded as the weakened form of *कि*, with the transition of the interrogative signification into the demonstrative, which is easily intelligible, and which occurs also in the Greek *γάρ*, which, with regard to its formation, appears analogous to the Gothic *hvar*, *thar*, and Sans *kar-h*. As to the change of the tenuis to the medial, it cannot be more a matter of difficulty than in *δέ* and *δεῖνα* (§§ 350 376). We may here mention, as derivatives from the interrogative, the particles *ke* (Doric *κα*), *ken*, *γε* (Doric *γα*). The Sanscrit *ह*, however, occurs in *ह्य* *hyas*, "yesterday," which I think may be distributed into *h* + *as*, and considered as "that day," for words which signify "yesterday," "to-day," "to-morrow," as far as the elements concealed in them, and which are often so altered as to be quite undistinguishable, admit of any derivation at all, can be traced only to pronouns and terms denoting "day." The *as*, therefore, of *hy-as* may be a weak remnant of *divas*, "day," as in our *er* of *heuer*. Middle High German *huere*, from *hru-jāru* is concealed the word *jahr*, "year," which is in Zend *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀* *ayārē*, a remnant of which is to be found, also, in the Latin *hornus*, with *nu*, *no*, derivative. In the Greek *χθές*, the *θ* appears to have arisen by a kind of semi-assimilation from the older semi-vowel (compare § 300), by which its etymology is still more obscured. In the Latin *heri*, from *hesi* (compare *hes-ternus*, Sanscrit *hyas-tana-s*), a demonstrative element is more perceptible than in *χθές*, from the partial retention of *hic*. The *g* of our *gestern*, "yes-

terday ' Gothic *gistra* * is a consequence of the regular transition of old aspirates into medials but otherwise the *gis* to which the *tra* is affixed as mark of derivation resembles the Sanscrit *ह्यस्* *hyas* tolerably well

392 From *gestern* we proceed to *morgen*, but we must first settle the derivation of a word which in Sanscrit signifies all every and in which I recognise an affinity to *शस्* *śas* morrow I mean *विश्व* *visva* which in Zend according to § 20 becomes *uispa* and in Lithuanian is changed by assimilation into *wissa* whence *wissur* everywhere analogous to the abovementioned *kullur* elsewhere The first portion of the Sanscrit *विश्व* *visva* I believe to be the preposition *vi* which expresses separation dissipation diffusion and with the aid of a pronoun may be well adapted to express the idea all There remains *śva* as a pronoun in which it may be observed that *ś* is of guttural origin and represented in the classical languages by *h* c (§ 21) so that *śva* appears to be related to the interrogative base with a euphonic *i* as in the Gothic *HVA* and Latin *QVO* Observe further that in Lithuanian *kas* combined with the appended particle *gi* which is probably a softened *li* signifies both who then? and every And without *gi* *kasdien* means all days and *dien isskay* with the interrogative appended signifies the same But to return to the Sanscrit *विश्व* *visva* all I consider its latter portion as derived from *शस्* *śas* morrow with which the Latin *cras* is connected (§ 20) We should however probably distribute thus *śvas* so that the pronominal base is represented only by its consonant as in the Slavonic *kto* *quis?* (§ 297) The syllable *शस्* *śas* however we refer to *द्वय* *duas* an appella-

* *Gistra digis* occurs Matt vi 30 in the sense of morrow

tion of "day," which would therefore be less altered by one letter than in *𑬶𑬀 hy-as*, "yesterday," and agrees with the Latin *ves* in *ves-per* (§. 375.)

393 We return to the interrogative base *𑬀𑬩 li*, which has led us to its corruption *𑬀𑬩 li*, and thence to the derivation of *𑬶𑬀 hy-as*, "yesterday," and *𑬶𑬀 śvas*, "morrow." In Zend I have hitherto found the base *𑬀𑬩 li*, unchanged only in the neuter plural nominative, *𑬶𑬀𑬩𑬀 li-a* (from *li-a*) (§ 233), with which may be compared the Latin *qui-a*, which Max Schmidt (De Pron p 31) has rightly taken as the plural neuter. The Sanscrit and Zend, therefore, mutually complete the declension of the interrogative, so that the former admits the base *li* only in the nominative and accusative singular, the latter in the plural, while in Latin the corresponding *QUI* enters more largely into the declension, so that *quis* and *quem* have quite dislodged the *quus* and *quum*, which might have been expected from the base *QVO*, or, as in the case of the latter word, have restricted it to its use as a conjunction. And in the dative plural, *quibus* has abolished the use of *quis*, *quers*, which spring from *QVO*. In the ablative singular, however, *quē*, from *QUI*, has been superseded by *quō*, from *QVO*, or its use has been much diminished by it, just as, in the plural, the obsolete *ques* is suppld by *qui* and *quos*. I have elsewhere noticed, that four declensions (the first in the feminine), enter into the declension of the Latin relative interrogative and *li-e*, which is identical with it in origin*. The use of the fourth is, however, only specious, as *cu-e* above has been shewn to be a contraction of *quor*, which belongs to the second declension, and, with respect to the more true retention of

* Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words, pp 3, 4. Max. Schmidt (De Pron Gr et Lat p 33) has discussed this subject almost simultaneously with myself, and viewing it in the same light

the case termination agrees with other obsolete forms as *popoloi Romanoī* (§ 200)

391 That *hic* is identical in origin with *quis qui* is shewn by its sharing in the peculiarities and mixed declension of the latter—peculiarities which belong exclusively to *hic* and *qui quis* viz the feminine *hæc* and the plural neuter of the same sound. The reason of the non existence of *ha c* together with the form given above as might have been expected from the analogy of *aliqua signa* &c is that *hæc* does not occur at the end of compounds for it seems not to admit of any doubt that *quæ* is reduced to *qua* on account of the increased weight of the compound which has occasioned the lightening of its latter part. Though *si quis ne quis* may be written separately and a word may sometimes be interposed between them still where they occur together they really belong to one another and form a compound as in Sanscrit the corresponding मिक्ष *māks* निक्ष *nakhs* and in Zend मश्च *māchis* नश्च *naēchis*. Contrary to the conjecture expressed at § 387 I now prefer regarding the neuter plural forms *quæ* and *hæc* not as remains of a dual and thus corresponding to the Sanscrit द्वे *dvē* but as exhibiting in their *æ* a weakening of the older *ā* which originally belongs to the nominative and accusative plural of the neuter of bases in *o* (from *a*) but which in Zend according to § 231 is retained only in monosyllabic themes just as in the nominative singular feminine its being monosyllabic is the cause of the retention of the original length of *a* (§ 137). This principle is observed in Gothic in both places thus *sô* (from *sā*) *hæc hîð quæ?* and in the neuter plural in which the interrogative cannot be cited *thô*. This *thô* then being the only monosyllabic form of its kind and remarkable for its *ô* (= *ā*) for *a* as has been noticed by Grimm (I 790) coincides with the Latin *quæ* and *hæc* which both in the singular nominative feminine

and neuter plural, are the only monosyllabic forms of their kind, and as, for this reason, they are qualified to retain the long *a*, that letter is not only entirely shortened, but changed to *æ* ($=\check{a} + \check{i}$), and afterwards, in compounds, reduced to short *a*, which is more suitable to polysyllabic forms thus we have *aliquā*, both in the feminine and in the neuter plural

395 *Hi-c* resembles the Sanscrit *hi* before mentioned in the irregular change of the old tenuis to the aspirate This change, however, is not admitted in *ci-s* and *ci-tra*, which is likewise demonstrative, and akin to *ci-hi*,^{*} and, in *hic*, may be promoted or occasioned by the recession of *c*, in order that like initial and final sounds may be avoided, as in Sanscrit, to prevent the recurrence of gutturals, these, in the syllable of reduplication, are weakened to palatals, hence चक्री *chakrī*, "he made," for कक्री *kakrī*, and, according to the same principle, though anomalous, जहि *jahi*, "kill ye," for हहि *hahi*, from the root हन् *han* Thus, in Latin, *hi*, *hæc*, *hoc*, for the less euphonic *ci*, *cæc*, *coc* The final *c* is, I doubt not, an abbreviation of *ce*, which is again combined with itself in *hucc*, but *ce*, as also *pe* in *quip-pe* (from *quid-pe*), is only another form of *que*, by abandoning the euphonic affix *ſ* As, then, *que*, *pe*, *quam* and *pam*, which are all originally interrogative, when they are attached to an interrogative destroy its interrogative meaning, and give a different sense to the pronoun, so also the *c* of *hic* makes a similar change in it, and should therefore accompany this pronoun through all its cases, as it perhaps originally did. In the neuter *hoc* the case-sign makes way for the *c*, as *hoci* would be pro-

* *Ci-tra* is analogous with *ul-tra*, from *ille*, *olle*, suppressing *le*, and *ci* with *ul-s*, the *s* of which may be connected with the Greek locative suffix *θι* (*πρό-θι*, &c), to which it bears the same relation that *δός* does to *δό-θι* Remark, that final *i* is suppressed in Latin almost universally

nounced with difficulty. The interrogative meaning is similarly destroyed by the enclitic *uh* in Gothic which is also identical in its origin with the *e* of *hic* or the *que* of *quisque**. And *hrazuh* (euphonic for *hrazuh* § 86 5) actually signifies *quisque*, and after verbs *uh* means *and* *e g gaggith quithuduh ite diciteque* (Marc xvi 7) *jah bigētun ina quethunuh et invenerunt eum dixeruntque* (Joh vi 25). In *yah* and therefore (§ 385) the copulative force may be principally in the *uh* which is abbreviated to *h* and to which the preceding relative base serves only as the fulcrum as in Sanscrit the particle *चाँ* or (comp Latin *et*) which is generally subjoined is attached when prefixed to *यदि yadi* if or *अथ atha* then which then lose their signification like the Latin *si* in *sue*. As to the abbreviation however of *uh* to *h* this regularly occurs in monosyllabic words terminating in a vowel, hence *hio-h quaque* is the formal countertype of *hæc* just as *sia h* so from *si c* and *ni h* (and not *nih nih* nor not) from *nec* *Nauh* yet and *thauh* but form an exception inasmuch as they ought to be divided *na uh tha uh* not *nau h thau h*. It is clear however that in Gothic in these expressions the composition with *uh* has been lost sight of they are obscurely transmitted from an ancient period of the language and the separate elements of composition are no longer perceived in them. But regarded from the Gothic point of view how is *uh* to be derived? I agree with Grimm in considering it as *hu* transposed and connected with *hun* which is likewise enclitic (III 33)* and occurs almost only in negative sentences so that *ni ainshun* and *ni hrazshun* signify not any one whatever. *Hun* like the Latin *quam* may be an accusative but of the masculine gender as *femines* in Gothic have generally lost the

* Compare Grimm III 3 where *uh* and the Latin *que* (=) are for the first time shewn to be identical

accusative sign But if *hun* be the accusative masculine it has lost the final *a*, which is added in Gothic to the original final nasal (§ 149.), in this respect it agrees with the adverbial pronominal accusatives *than*, "then," &c, and *hvan*, "when?" "how?" Perhaps, however, *hun* is only a contraction of the latter, by suppressing the *a*, and changing the *v* into a vowel, just like the Latin *opus*, *ui*, from *qVopus*, *qVoi* (§ 389), and like *cum* from *qVum*. But in the Gothic there was greater ground for this abbreviation, as *hun* occurs only in composition, and must not therefore be too broad The same applies to *uh* as the transposition of *hu*, inasmuch as this is actually a contraction of the base *HVA* The possibility, however, of a different derivation of *uh* and *hun* will be shewn subsequently (§ 398)

396 To the Sanscrit-Zend interrogative base *hi*, and the Latin *QVI*, *HI*, and *CI*, corresponds the Gothic demonstrative base *HI*, of which, however, as of the Latin *CI*, from which it is only distinguished by the legitimate transposition of sounds, but few derivatives remain, viz the dative *himma*, and the accusative *hina*, as also the adverbial neuter accusative *hita*, which are used only with reference to time, *himma* and *hita* in the sense of "now," and *himmadaga*, "on this day," "to-day," *hinadag*, "this day" The adverb *hi-dê*, "hither," is also a derivative from *HI*, and *hâr*, "here," is likewise irregularly connected with it, which, with respect to its *r*, is analogous to the *thar* and *hvar* mentioned at § 381 The regular and undoubted derivative of the base *HI*, viz *hin*, occurs in the compound *hur-jan*, "to descend", in which, however, the pronominal expression has an accusative meaning, signifying direction to a place On the Gothic accusative *hina* is based our *hin*, properly "to this or that (place)," which supplies the place of a preposition in compounds like *hingehen*, "adire" Instead of the Gothic dative in *himmadaga*, the Old High German uses the instrumental *hin*,

contained in *hiutu* our *heute* to day —according to Grimm's very satisfactory derivation an abbreviated form of *hiutagu*—and which is found also in the Middle High German *hiure* our *heuer* this year which presupposes in Old High German *hiuru* and is evidently an abbreviation of *hiu jâru*, for the Latin *hornus* cannot be considered as the root but must itself be compounded of a demonstrative and an appellation of year the age of which is shewn by the Zend (compare § 391) In Old High German in combination with *nacht* night we find the form *hinaht* Middle High German *hinaht* and *hunte* our *heunt* for *heint* I agree with Grimm in considering *hi* as an abbreviation of *hia* which must be supposed as the accusative feminine so that the suppression of the *a* is compensated by lengthening the *i* which is short of itself The base *HI* therefore, is lengthened in the feminine in the same manner as in Gothic the base *i* (§ 363) the feminine accusative of which *iya* (euphonic for *ia*) coincides with the presupposed Old High German *hia* the nominative of which was probably *hiu* in analogy with *sui* accusative *sia* (§ 354) This opinion is supported by the Anglo Saxon and Old Frisian which express he by this pronoun but in the feminine lengthen the base *hi* by the unorganic affix mentioned thus Old Frisian *hiu ea hia eam*, and for the former in Anglo Saxon *heo* and in the accusative *hi* abbreviated from *hia* As then as appears from what has been said the base *HI* refers principally to appellations of time it may be observed that the Sanscrit had already furnished the example for this by its *ह्यस hyas* yesterday from *hi + as*

397 The Latin *ni hil* is also to be mentioned here the *l* of which springs perhaps from the frequent corruption of *d* to *l* a weakening which takes place in compounds especially to prevent the whole word from becoming too ponderous In this respect we may adduce the instance of

trusted with the Latin *uterque* for *cuterque* and the Gothic *hiataruh* is clearly seen to be cognate in form as in meaning. In Sanskrit also चित् *chit* removes from the interrogative expression preceeding it its interrogative force and forms *kaśchit* any one one from कस् *ka s* who? and similarly in the other genders and so *kadāchit* at any time *kathauchit* in any manner *kāchit* any where from *kadā* when? *katham* how? and *kha* where? And as the base *chi* has proceeded from *ki* in the same manner the enclitic च *cha* which signifies and but and for springs from the principal base *ka* which therefore appears more corrupted in *cha* than the Latin *QUE* in the enclitic *que*. The Sanskrit च *cha* is further combined with *na* and forms चाना *chana* which is likewise enclitic and occurs principally if not solely in negative sentences like the Gothic *hun* mentioned above *na kaśchana* signifies *nullus* *na kadāchana* *nunquam* and *na kathamchana* *nullo modo*. Hence the appended *na* may be regarded both as the negation and as increasing the indefiniteness of the expression. But by this चाना *chana* a derivation may be given to the Gothic *hun* different from that furnished above (p 559). It is certain that if the *u* of *hun* is not the vocalised *z* of *hiaz* it can only have proceeded from an older *a* whether from the influence of the liquid (§ 66) or from the weight of the vowel of the appended particle being lessened on account of the composition. But if *hun* be identical with *chana* from *kana* I should also prefer regarding the *u* of the appended particle *uh* (p 557) not as the solution of an older *z* but as the weakened form of a prior *a* and thus *uh* from *hu* might be compared with the Sanskrit *cha* from *ka*.

399 As expressions which occur chiefly in negative sentences readily adopt as it were a negative nature so that even when the true element of negation is omitted they obtain an independent negative force as *e g* the French *rien* by itself

signifies "nothing," and the Old High German *nih-ein*, "*nullus*," has, in our *kein*, lost precisely that which is the element of negation, so we may suppose that, in the Old Northern expressions with the enclitic *ki* or *gi* (Grimm III. 33), a particle of negation originally existed. In the present state of the language, however, the said particle is of itself negative, *e g engi*, "*nullus*," *emskis*, "*nullus*," *mangi*, "*nemo*," *manskis*, "*neminis*," *vaetki*, "*nihil*." I consider this particle to be a derivative of the old and widely-diffused interrogative base *ki*, which, by its being always subjoined to some other word, has been protected from the usual alteration of sound, so that, in the sense of § 99., the old tenuis has been left unchanged after *s*, but the medial has been introduced after vowels and *r*.

400 With regard to what has been observed of the Old Slavonic, § 388, that its interrogative base *ko* occurs only in combination with the definite and originally relative pronoun, it must, however, be understood that *KO*, after the *o* is dropped, is combined also with the demonstrative base *T'O*, since *kto* signifies "*quis*," though *to* by itself is only neuter, and in the masculine nominative and accusative, as in all bases in *o*, this vowel is suppressed. In the oblique cases* *kto* abandons the demonstrative element, and appears as the simple base *KO*. Compare the genitive *ko-go* and dative *ko-mû* with the Sanscrit *ka-sya* (§ 269), *ka-smât*. The instrumental *kym* follows the declension of the definite adjective (§ 284), and is, therefore, not simple. The neuter is attached to the Sanscrit-Zend softened interrogative base *chu*, and is, in the nominative, *chto*, with the vowel of the base suppressed, as in the masculine *kto*. The oblique cases likewise drop the demonstrative element: the genitive is *che-go*

* With the exception of the accusative, which is the same as the nominative. This pronoun does not appear to be used in the plural, and the feminine, also, is wanting. Compare Kopitar's *Glagolita*, p. 59.

and *che* so * dative *che mī* locative *che-m* instrumental *chi m* These forms may be explained in two ways either the *e* of *che-go* २८ is a corruption of the *i* of the Sanscrit Zend base *chi* as the bases *gosti* and *kosti* (§ 280) form in the dative and locative plural *goste-m goste-kh koste-m koste-kh*, or the original base *chi* has assumed in Slavonic a second unorganic affix and been lengthened to *CHIO* (compare § 229) from which according to § 255 *n* must be formed *chye* or *che* and then by rejecting the final vowel *chi* as § 282 we have seen the base *yo* in several cases contracted to *i* Compare also § 250 the declension of the bases *ΛΛΙ* *ΙΥΙ* *O* and *MORI* *O*

401 There remains to be mentioned the Greek interrogative *τις* *τιος* and the indefinite *τις* *τιος* The origin of both is I have no doubt similar and they are derived from the bases *li* and *chi* which in Sanscrit and Zend have not only an interrogative signification but under certain circumstances an indefinite one also In Greek the old theme in *i* has been lengthened by the affix of a *i* but in regard to its *τ* *TIN* has the same relation to *chi* and to the Latin *QUI* *I* that *τεσσαρες* has to *चत्वारि* *chatvāri* and *quatuor* and that *πεντε* has to *पञ्च* *pancha* and *quinQUE* Still I am not of opinion that the Greek *τ* in these forms has arisen from the *ch* of the cognate Asiatic languages but that it has sprung directly from the original *k* from which at the time of the unity of language *ch* had not as yet been developed as this letter has in the classical languages also no existence but was first formed in Italian from the Latin *c* (always = *k*) before *e* and *i* But if *k* has been frequently changed into the labial tenuis and thus *ΠΟ* has been formed from *ΛΟ* *πεμπε*

* This form which formerly escaped me is important as testifying that the *g* of the common pronominal termination *go* has sprung from the *s* and not from the semi vowel of the Sanscrit termination *syā* (see § (9))

from the to-be-supposed $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa$, we may also see no difficulty in its occasional transition into the lingual tenuis, particularly as *t* is the primary element of the Indian *ch*. But if $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ comes from $\kappa\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, and is akin to the Latin *quis* and Sanscrit *ki-s* and *chi-t*, then perhaps, also, the particle $\tau\epsilon$ is connected with *que* and the corresponding च *cha* (§. 398), and has therefore sprung from $\kappa\epsilon$, and is alien to the base of the article, which would be at variance with my former conjecture *

402 Here may be mentioned, also, the Old Slavonic enclitic particle *she* (ѣ) which signifies "but," and has the effect of restoring to the pronoun *z*, "he," its original relative signification (§ 282), for *z-she* signifies "which" On the other hand, when combined with interrogatives, it removes, like the Latin *que*, their interrogative meaning, hence, *ni chesoshe*, "*nihil*," "not of any thing."† I consider this particle as identical with the Sanscrit च *cha*, "and," "but," "for," and with the Latin *que*, and therefore as a derivative from the interrogative base, the tenuis of which appears in this particle, as in the Greek $\gamma\epsilon$ and $\gamma\alpha\rho$ (§ 391), to have descended to a medial *G* in Slavonic, however, is regularly changed, in several parts of grammar, into *sh*, as in the vocative singular, where, in bases in *o*, this vowel is weakened, as in Greek, to *e* (Ε), but by the influence of this *e* the *g* preceding becomes *sh*, hence, *boshe*, "God," from the base *BOGO*, nominative *bog*, whence, also, *boshu*, "godlike" I intentionally select this word as an example, since it is important to me to be able to compare it with an Indian appellation of the highest divinities I think, that is to say, that the Slavonic base *BOGO* is identical with the Sanscrit भगवन् *bhagavat*, "the exalted, worthy of veneration," lite-

* Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words, p 6

† Kopitar's Glossary, p 86 Regarding *cheso* see above, p 563

rally gifted with happiness power splendour This *bhagavat* nominative *bhagavān* occurs principally as an appellation of Vishnu e.g. in the episode of Sundar and Uparisundar (III 23) and in the title of an episode of the Mahabharata *Bhagavad Gītā* i.e. "Song of the exalted" because it refers to Krishna an incarnation of Vishnu Referring to Brahma and Vishnu *bhagavat* is only used adjectively thus Sundar and Uparisundar III 21 and IV 23 it comes from *bhaga* with the suffix *vat* in the strong cases *ant* but *bhaga* comes from the root *bhag* to venerate The Slavonic base *BOGO* has dropped the derivative suffix of the Sanskrit *bhagavat* but this appears in an abbreviated form and with an inorganic affix in *bogat* (theme *bogato*) rich which might be the meaning of *भगवत्* *bhagavat* as gifted with fortune

103 The same relation that in an etymological respect the Slavonic *sh* has to *g* *ch* has to *k* and springs from the latter according to the same rule by which *g* becomes *sh* viz. before *e* hence *tekū* I run in the second and third persons forms *techesht* *techet* on the same principle by which *moshesht* and *moshet* come from *mogū* I can Although then above at § 100 we have seen the Sanskrit Zend interrogative *chi* in the same form in Slavonic or in that of *che*—*che-go* "of whom?" *chm* by which? *chto* "what?" for *che to* or *chi to*—it is not requisite to assume that these forms brought the sound *ch* with them from the East because there exists an interrogative *chi* there also but in the Slavonic and its Asiatic cognate idioms the weakened *ch* might have arisen independently from the old guttural which perhaps alone existed at the time of their identity and in the Slavonic according to a phonetic law which has been given in interrogative form *che* would have proceeded from *kī* or *kyā* though in Sanskrit and Zend a base *chi* never existed

DERIVATIVE PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES

404 By the suffix *ka* are formed, in Sanscrit, *māmaka*, “*meus*,” and *tāvaka*, “*tuus*,” from the genitives of the personal pronouns, *mama*, *tava*, with the vowel of the first syllable lengthened. To these the Vêda plural possessives are analogous, *asmāka*, “*our*,” *yushmāka* “*your*,” from which we have seen the plural genitives of the personal pronouns *asmākam*, *yushmākam*, formed. Perhaps, as Rosen conjectured,* these forms spring from the personal ablatives *asmat*, *yushmat*, so that the suppression of the *t* is made up by lengthening the preceding vowel. It must here be observed, that, as has been already repeatedly remarked, the *t* of the nominative and accusative singular neuter of pronouns of the third person, as also that of the ablative singular and plural of pronouns of the first and second persons, is so far used as a theme by the language, that it is retained at the beginning of compounds, where otherwise we find the mere base (compare § 357), and that several derivative words have proceeded from the form in *t*, whether the *T* sound has been actually retained in them, or replaced by lengthening the vowel preceding. On the Vêda *asmāka* is based the Zend *𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀* *ahmāka*, whence V S p 30, the Instrumental *𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀* *ahmākhāis*. I am unable to cite the possessive of the singular, and of the second person, as the use of possessives in Zend, as in Sanscrit, is very rare, because they are generally supplied by the genitives of the personal pronouns.

405 In Sanscrit, possessives are formed from the ablative singular and plural of pronouns of the first and second person, and from the neuter *tat* of the third person, also from *सर्व* *sarva*, “*each*,” the *a* of which is rejected before the suffix *īya*, while *t* is changed before it into *d*,

* In the place quoted at p 473

hence *madiya* mine from *mat* *tadiya* thine from *tat* *asmadiya* our from *asmāt* *yushmadiya* your from *yushmat* *tadiya* belonging to him to this man or to her to this woman from *tat** An analogous formation is I think to be found in the Greek *ιδιος* whether it belongs to the demonstrative base ι^{\dagger} and the *ιδ* preceding the *ιος* be identical with the Sanscrit (before sonant letters *id*) *it* contained in *नेत्* *net* and *चेत्* *chet* or whether—and this conjecture I prefer—the breathing has been softened and *ιδιος* for *ἰδιος* belong to the reflective (§ 364) with regard to which it may be remarked that the cognate Sanscrit *सप्त* *sapt* signifies also own and can be applied to all three persons There does not indeed exist in Sanscrit a pronoun of the third person devoid of gender with a perfect declension but only the remains of one *सयम्* *sayam* self and in Prakrit *से* *sē* (for *sē*) *sui* (§ 341) There is however every reason for supposing that *सप्त* as a personal pronominal base did possess a complete declension analogous to the pronouns of the first and second person Its ablative must therefore be *सत्* *sāt* and thence might have arisen *sadiya* *suus* analogous to *madiya* *tadiya* and a cognate form to *ἰδιος* for *ἰδιος* from *σφιδιος* like *ιδρως* from *σφιδρως* corresponding to the Sanscrit *स्वेद* *svēda* and our *Schweiss* sweat and *αδus* *ηδus* from *σφαδus* = Sanscrit *सादुस* *siādus* In regard to form the correlatives *τοιος τοιος οιος* which appear to have lost a middle *δ* agree with the possessives in *इय* *iya* in other respects *τοιος* answers tolerably well to *tadiya* *s* which has not only a possessive but also a clear demonstrative meaning

* *Tad ja* occurs also in the sense of its primitive so Raghuvansa according to Stenzler I 81 and Brockhaus Patliputra SI 9 The possessive signification occurs at Raghuvansa II 28

† Compare Hartung On the Cases p 117

406 The Slavonic possessives are based on the Sanscrit in *īya*, but have dropped the *i* of this suffix, and the *T* sound of the primitive pronoun. According to § 257 *ya* must become *yo*, and according to §. 255 *n*, *yo* becomes *ye* or *e* the latter is the form assumed, and in those cases which are uninflected, and at the same time deprived of the final vowel of the base, the *y* has become *ī*, as always takes place after vowels hence *moī*, “*meus*,” *moya*, “*mea*,” *moe*, “*meum*,” corresponding to the Sanscrit *madiya-s*, *madiyā*, *madiya-m*. And in the second person, *tiōī*, *tiōya*, *tiōe* bears the same relation to *hadiya-s*, *hadiyā*, *hadiya-m*, and the possessive third person, *siōī*, *siōya*, *siōe* pre-supposes, like the Greek *ἴδιος* if this is to be taken for *ἴδιος*—a Sanscrit *svadiya*. It appears that these possessives have been transmitted to the Slavonic from the ancient period of the language, and are, as it were, the continuance of the Sanscrit forms, for if they were originally Slavonic we should then find in them the same corruption of the base of the primitive pronouns that we have before remarked in those pronouns. The possessives would then most probably be, in the nominative masculine, *meny* or *mny*, *teby*, *seby* or *loby*, *soby*, but no case of the personal pronouns would lead us to expect *moī*, still less *tiōī*, *siōī*. In Lithuanian, on the contrary, the possessive *māna-s*, *tāva-s*, *sāva-s*, are comparatively of quite recent date, for they agree with the particular modification of personal bases in the oblique cases singular (see §§ 310 312) thus, in Latin, *mēus*, *tuus*, *suus*, probably from *mei*, *tui*, *sui*; and in Greek, *ἐμός*, *ός*, *ός*, are, in their theme, identical with that from which proceed *ἐμοῦ*, *ἐμοί*, *σοῦ*, *σοί*, *οῦ*, *οἷ*. On the other hand, *σφός*, *σφή*, *σφόν*, is the exact counter type of the Sanscrit *sva-s*, *svā*, *sva-m*, which affords the oldest example of possessives without any affix expressing the possession, for *sva* is purely personal in its form, and, as has been already observed, the theme of स्वस्व *svayam*, “self” (§ 341) The

formation of possessives in the plural numbers by the comparative suffix is peculiar to the Greek and Latin but this suffix is not extraordinary in possessives which prominently contrast the person or persons possessing with those not possessing and thus contain a duality which the comparative suffix in pronouns is adapted to express

407 The Lithuanian plural possessives are *musiszkis* our *jusiszkis* your the theme of which terminates in *kia* (§ 135) and reminds us of the Sanscrit possessives in *ka* viz *asmāka yushmāka* It is certain that the syllable *si* in *muSIs-kis* *yuSIszkis* is connected with the appended pronoun *asmā* (compare § 330) but we shall leave undecided the origin of the *s* (=sh) which precedes the *k* The Old Slavonic forms the plural possessives *nas ias* from the genitives of the personal pronouns by the same suffix which we have noted in *moi toi soi* only with the necessary phonetic difference hence *nashy* our *lashy* your * genitive *nashego iashego* With this suffix the interrogative forms in Slavonic also a possessive viz *chi* belonging to whom? feminine *chya* neuter *chie* It belongs to the Sanscrit weaker base *hi* which we have already noticed in *chego chum* &c (§ 400) As to the weakening of the *k* to *ch* we must observe what has been said on this subject at § 103

408 The Germanic possessives are most intimately connected with the genitives of the personal pronouns and are identical with them in their theme (p 474) If it be assumed that in the genitive plural the forms *unsara iara* like the Latin *nostrī vestrī nostrum vestrum* and the Sanscrit *asmākam yushmākam* are of possessive origin the *r* may then be very satisfactorily explained as the

* Written also without *y* *nash lash* The change of the *k* to *sh* is the consequence of the euphonic influence of the *y* or in the oblique cases of the *r* (Dobrowsky pp 30 41)

weakening of the *d* of the Sanscrit *asmadiya*, "our," *yushmadiya*, "your" Observe what has been remarked at p 441 regarding an original *d* becoming *r* in a similar case, and, moreover, the circumstance that, in Hindústání also, the *d* of the possessives under discussion has become *r*, hence, *mêra*,* *mêri*, "meus," "mea," for मदीय *madīya*, मदीय *madīyā* The dual genitives, *ugkara*, *igqara*, and the dual possessive bases of the same sound, the singular nominative masculine of which are *ugkar*, *igqar*, are, according to what has been remarked at §. 169, originally only different modifications of plural forms, and their *r*, therefore, is founded on the same principle with that of the plural number If we are to suppose that the singular genitives *mema*, *thema*, *sema*, have proceeded from possessive bases of the same sound, we should then have to assume a weakening of the medial to the nasal of the same organ, as, in general, an interchange between medials and nasals of the same organ is not unusual But as to the formation, in New High German, of an unorganic possessive, foreign to the old dialect *mir ihr*, "*ejus (feminæ) proprius*," and "*eorum or earum proprius*," from the feminine genitive singular and the genitive plural of the pronoun of the third person, which is common to all the genders this circumstance affords no proof that the genuine and original possessives also have sprung from the genitive of the personal pronouns, but only shews that it is agreeable to the use of language to form possessive adjectives from the personal genitives.

409 The forms corresponding in sense to the Greek correlatives *πό-σος*, *τό-σος*, *ὅ-σος*, are, in Sanscrit and Zend, those with the derivative suffix *vant*, in the weak cases *vat* (§ 129), before which an *a* final of the primitive base is

* Thus in Bohemian *míro*, "mine," *mírí*, "mine" (fem.), see Berl Jahrb Feb 1836 p 310

lengthened * perhaps as compensation for the dropping of the *T* sound of the neuter which probably forms the foundation and theme of these forms (compare § 404) hence *तान्* *tanant* nominative masculine *तान्* *tānān* *τοσος* *tosos* *यान्* *yavant* nominative masculine *यान्* *yānān* *ὄσος* *ōsos* From the interrogative base *la* or the lost neuter *lat* we might expect *lāvant* which would serve as prototype to the Latin *quantus* and would bear that relation to it which *तान्* *tanant* does to *tantus*. In the Latin *tantus quantus* there fore a whole syllable is rejected as in *malo* from *marolo* but externally the theme is lengthened in analogy with the Pali participial forms mentioned at pp 300 301 thus *tantus* for *tāvantus* and the latter for *tānans*. The quantity of the *a* of *quantus tantus* on account of its position cannot be discovered the *a* however appears to spring from an originally long *ā* inasmuch as from a short *a* would be evolved *e* or *o* as in *lot quot* answering to *तति* *tati* *कति* *kati* of which hereafter. In Gothic the suffix *rant* is corrupted in three ways first in consequence of the easy mutation and interchange of the semi vowels † secondly through the no less frequent vocalization of the nasal to *u* † and lastly by extending the theme with *a*

* In Zend the long has relapsed into the short vowel as very frequently occurs in the antepenultimate

† § 20 Compare also the Gothic *sl pa* I sleep with the Sanscrit *स्वपिप्ति* *svapimti* the Latin *laudo* with *यन्तु* *rant* to praise and the Lith *pa* *pa* *saldū-s* Old Slavonic *saldōs* (p 412 Rem *) sweet with the Sanscrit *स्वादुस* *svadu s*. With respect to the interchange of *v* and *r* in which the Old High German *birum s* as contrasted with the Sanscrit *भवामसु* *bhavamas* we are afforded us a very interesting comparison and one which has been since established by Graff (II 3 5) we will here remind the reader of the relation of the Gothic *ra-n* house (theme *razna* with *z* euphonic for *s* according to § 80 5) to the Sanscrit root *वास* *vas* to inhabit whence *वास* *sra* house which Pietet recognises in the Irish *forra* (Journ As III T II p 443)

† See §§ 236 255 *q* and 207

which, however, in accordance with § 135., is suppressed in the nominative. In the first and last respect *LAUDA* coincides very remarkably with the form which, in Latin, the suffix वन् *vant* assumes, or may assume, where it does not form pronominal correlatives, but possessive adjectives, as *opulentus* (with the more organic *opulens*), *innulentus*,[†] &c. The long vowel required in Sanscrit before the suffix *vant*, where it forms correlatives, is retained in the Gothic *hvalands*, "*quantus*," the old *ð* (§ 69) being supplied by *i*, whence it appears that in *hvalands* the instrumental *hvi* is contained. We should expect a demonstrative *thelands*, τότος, as corresponding to *hvalands*, πότος, analogous to the Sanscrit त्वन् *tvant* and Latin *tantus*. This *thelands*, however, is rendered superfluous by a *vralands*, formed from the original base of the genderless pronoun of the third person (comp § 311), which, however, has not preserved the original long vowel.

410 The derivative *kāāt*, from the Sanscrit interrogative base *kā*, which is wanting, is supplied by *kīyant*, from the base *kī*, analogous to which is इयन् *iyant*, "so much," from the demonstrative base *i*. I conjecture कियन् *kīyant* and इयन् *iyant* to be abbreviations of *kīvant* and *īvant*, formed by suppressing the *v*, after which, in accordance with a universal phonetic law,¹ the preceding *i* must become *iy*. This conjecture is supported by the Zend, in so far as the interrogative form under discussion has retained the full suffix *vant* instead of this, however, an abbreviation has taken place in the base, by suppressing the *v* and weakening the *k* to *ch*, hence, in the nominative

* We must avoid referring the *u* to the suffix. It is clearly the final vowel of the primitive word, which, however, through the influence of the liquid, appears in the form of *u* (compare Vocalismus, p. 162, Rem *)

† Gramm Crit § 51

masculine *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀* *chians* accusative *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀* *chiantem**
 neuter *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀* *chvat*† To the Sanscrit relative *yānt* cor-
 responds *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀* *yānt* of which however I am
 unable to quote any case in the masculine and only the
 neuter *yānt* and the feminine *yānti*. The former occurs
 tolerably often the latter I am acquainted with only
 through a passage given by Burnouf‡ where in the litho-
 graphed codex (V S p 83) *avanti* occurs through an error
 for *yānti*§ The *tant* which answers to the above in
 interrogative and relative expressions appears to be wanting
 in Zend as in Gothic and is supplied by analogous deri-
 vatives from other demonstrative bases viz by *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀*
atant from *ava* and *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀* *atant* from *a*. The latter
 forms in the masculine nominative not *atans* according to
 the analogy of *chians* how much? and *thuarans* as
 thou but *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀* *avaθ* which I agree with Burnouf|| in
 explaining by supposing that the *nt* has given place before

* *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀* *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀* *chvāntēmpas chaeta zrianēm*
 after how much time? (Vend S p 29) The nominative *chians* oc-
 curs Vend S p 86 From the primitive base *ch* I have still to mention
 here the neuter *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀* *chit* of which only the enclitic and anti-interrogative
 uso has been mentioned before But as representing the more common
la' it occurs l c p 80 *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀* *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀* *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀* *chit'at' lacho* 'what (is)
 that word?

† Often occurs adverbially e g *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀* *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀* *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀* *chiat an*
tarē nareus among how many men? (Vend S p 30)

‡ Yaçna, Note A p 12

§ We should notice also here the expression *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀* *frath* (with
𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀 *chit* *𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀* *frathas chit*) since it shews that the *ri* which
 is retained full in the Sanscrit *prithu* is an abbreviation of the syllable *ra*
 which appears also in the Greek *πρ* I think I have sufficiently
 proved in my *Vocalismus* (Rem 1 p 156 &c) that the Sanscrit vowel
ri is in all places an abbreviation of a syllable which contains the conso-
 nant *r* before or after a vowel

|| Yaçna Note A p 11

the nominative sign *ṣ*, and has been supplied by the lengthening of the *a* to *ā*, which latter, with the final sibilant, must produce the diphthong *āo* (§ 56^b)

411 The Lithuanian *īdant*, which signifies “that” and “thoroughly,” is most probably a remnant of the forms which terminate, in Sanscrit and Zend, in *vant*, and in Latin in *ntu-s*, and, indeed, in the *d* of *īDant*, the neuter case-termination appears to be retained, which is replaced in the cognate Asiatic languages by lengthening the preceding vowel the syllable *ya* of the relative base has, then, been contracted to *i*. The pronominal origin of this *īdant* is shewn by its signification “that,” and also particularly by the circumstance that other terms also for this conjunction have sprung, both in Lithuanian itself and in the cognate languages, from the relative base under discussion, viz *yerb* (§. 383), in the sense of *ut*, Sanscrit *ya-thā*, Greek *ὥς*, Gothic *ei* (§ 365), and *yóg*, in the sense of *quod*, Sanscrit *yat*, Greek *ὅτι*. The secondary idea of multitude, expressed in Sanscrit, Zend, and Latin, by the formations in *vant*, is represented in *īdant* by the signification “thoroughly.” From the particular case of the Lithuanian language, however, we could scarcely argue the possibility of a connection between the suffix *ant* of *īd-ant*, and that of *kīel*, “how many?” *Kīel* is a masculine plural nominative, according to the analogy of *geri* from *GERA* the theme, therefore, is *KIELA*, and, for a few cases, *KIELIA* (see p 251, Rem †), and *lu* the derivative suffix, which admits of being regarded as an abbreviation of *va-nt*, with a similar exchange of *v* and *l*, as we have seen above in the Gothic *hvēlauds*. This conjecture is strongly supported by *kīēlets*, which likewise means “how much?” but is so limited in its use that it can only be applied to living beings. Every letter of the Sanscrit suffix *vat* (the theme of the weak cases) is represented in this *kīēLETs*, and we even find an interrogative expression, in which the *n* also of the strong form *vant* is contained, I mean

kolinta s der wie vielste? the how manyeth? * with *ta* as ordinal suffix (§ 321) probably therefore for *kolint tas* so that *kolint* how many? by adding *ta s* becomes the how manyeth? But to return to *id ant* its suffix *ant* has lost only the *v* of the original *vant*, but *la* the suffix of *lieli* has retained the *v* in the form of *l* and lost in place of it the final *nt*. There is however no demonstrative *tieli* corresponding to *lieli* but so many is expressed by *tiel* or *tielas*† which has also a corresponding interrogative *liel*. The suffix of these forms appears connected with that of *tokis* or *tol s* (theme *tokia*) such and *lól s* what kind of one?

412 Though at § 409 we commenced with the comparison of the Greek correlatives ποσος τοσος οσος we must not therefore suppose that the Greek suffix ΣΟ is identical with the Sanscrit *vant* and those related to it in the cognate languages. The transition of T into Σ as also the increment of an O would not be extraordinary but as the vowel of the pronominal base is originally long in this derivative the retention of this long vowel would be to be expected in Greek and the rather as most probably the dropping of the initial sound of the suffix *vant* would have found a compensation in the preceding syllable even if this had not been naturally long from the first. A form like τοῦσος might be regarded as identical with the Sanscrit *tuant* but τοσος appears to me with reference to its final element as of a different origin and I would rather recognise in it the Zend *shua* which forms words like 𑎧𑎺𑎠𑎫𑎧𑎥𑎡𑎹 *thrushua* a third 𑎧𑎺𑎠𑎫𑎧𑎥𑎡𑎹𑎧𑎥𑎡𑎹 *chathrushua* a quarter and is identical with the Sanscrit *sua s* *suus*. From 𑎧𑎺𑎠𑎫 *sua s* which when uncompounded has become ος or σφος in the preceding com

* It seems surprising that there should be no word in English for *wievielste*. Who of the number? expresses quite a different idea. I have been obliged therefore to coin a word — *Translator's Note*.

† *Tiel* substantive and indeclinable *tiela s* adjective feminine *tiela*.

pounds, could hardly come any thing but $\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$, and $\pi\acute{o}-\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ would, according to this view, originally signify "what part?" or, as possessive compound, "having what part?" from which the meaning "how much?" is not far removed. Nevertheless, if what has been before said (§ 352) regarding the origin of $\tau\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$, $\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$, is well founded, there are not wanting in Greek points of comparison with the pronominal formations in *vant* or *vat*. In Sanscrit the adverbial neuter accusative $\pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda$ *távat* signifies, amongst other things, also "now," "at this time," and the relative adverb $\gamma\eta\upsilon\alpha\tau$ *yávat*, also, which serves as prototype to the Greek $\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$, is used principally with reference to time and signifies "how long?" "while," "how often?" "how far?" "up to," and "that." It may be cited in the first sense from a passage in the Nalus (V 23)

*yávaccha mé dhanishyanti práná dēhí, śuchismití,
távat trayi bhavishyámi, satyam étađ bravāmi tē*

*"quam diuque mei constabunt spiritus in corpore, sereno-
prædita tam diu tecum ero, veritatem hanc dico tibi"*

As it frequently happens that one and the same word is divided into several forms, of which each represents one of the meanings which formerly co-existed in the one original form, so may also $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ be identical with *távat* and *yávat*, so that the digamma, which has been hardened above to μ , has been here, as usually happens, entirely dropped, but the quantities have been transposed, thus $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$

* To these formations belongs, also, most probably $\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, which originally must have signified "so great," whence the meaning "like" might easily arise. I formerly thought it might be assigned to the demonstrative base ι (Demonstrative Bases, p 8) as, however (which was there overlooked), it has a digamma, it would be better referred to the reflective base, and compared with the Sanscrit *svi* (§ 364, and see Pott's Etymol. Forsch. p 272)

for $\eta(F)\sigma\tau\omega\varsigma$ for $\tau\eta(F)\sigma$ But it is probable that the first syllable has been shortened through the influence of the vowel following and this reduction and the abbreviation caused by dropping the digamma have been compensated by lengthening the syllable following The common adverbs in $\omega\varsigma$ also of which an account has been given at § 183 have operated by their example on $\epsilon\omega\varsigma\tau\omega\varsigma$ For the rest there exists a form $\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma$ as well as $\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$

113 Perhaps the Slavonic pronominal adverbs in *mo* may also be classed here which express direction to a place (Dobr p 430) *ka mo* whither? *ta mo* thither The relative *yamo* is wanting which would coincide with the Sanscrit $ययत्$ *yat* how far? in the signification therein since the former word likewise expresses the direction to which movement is made As to the relation in form of the suffix *mo* to $\tau\alpha\iota\alpha$ the *t* in Slavonic like all original final consonants must necessarily disappear (§ 255 1) and *a* in Slavonic becomes *o* or *e* almost universally but to the long *a* which in Sanscrit precedes the derivative suffix the Slavonic *o* corresponds according to rule (§ 255 a) thus *ta-mo* answers to the Indian $\tau\alpha\iota\alpha$ with *m* for *i* as in the Greek adverbs of time $\tau\eta\mu\sigma\tau\eta\mu\sigma$ above mentioned If an origin for the Slavonic suffix *mo* different from that here assigned be sought for the appended pronoun $\sigma\sigma\mu\alpha$ might be next adduced which drops the *s* in Slavonic But to take the demonstrative as an example to the Sanscrit dative *ta smi* and locative *ta smi* correspond in Slavonic *to mu to-m* and all that is left to find is an analogous form in Slavonic to the ablative $\tau\alpha\iota\alpha$ *ta smi* But the ablative is most opposed in meaning to the adverbs in *mo* expressing direction to a place and as regards the form for $\tau\alpha\iota\alpha$ *ta smi* could only be expected a form *toma* or *tomo* and not *ta mo* For as the Sanscrit short *a* at the end of old Slavonic bases always becomes *o* (§ 257) an unweakened

a, in this sole case, cannot but appear surprising, and there appears no reason why *ta-mo* should differ from the analogy of *to-mû* and *to-m*. There only remains one other possible means of deriving adverbs in *mo*, viz. by supposing *mo* to be a more full form of the plural dative termination, so that, of the Sanscrit termination भ्याः *bhyas*, Latin *vus*, Lithuanian *mus* or *ms* (see § 215), which elsewhere, in Slavonic, has become mere *m*, in the case before us a vowel also is retained. If this opinion be the true one, *hamo*, "whither?" *tamo*, "thither," *inamo*, "to somewhere else," *onamo*, "to that quarter," and similar forms, must be assigned to the feminine gender. *Tamo*, therefore, would correspond to the Sanscrit तद्भ्याः, while *tycm*, which is identical with the masculine and neuter, belongs to the compound base त् *tya* (p. 499). This last derivation appears particularly supported by the consideration, that, in all probability, the adverbs of quantity in *ma* or *mi* (Dobr. p. 430) contain plural case-terminations, and those in *mi* the instrumental, those in *ma* an unusual and more full form of the dative termination, in which the old *a* of the *bhyas* above mentioned is retained, by which it becomes similar to the dual-termination given at §. 273. It appears to me, however, inadmissible to look for a real dual inflexion in the adverbs under discussion. Examples are *kolyma* or *kolymi*, "how much?" *tolyma* or *tolymi*, "so much." All these adverbs, however, have the syllable *ly* (from *li*) in the middle, and thus, in my opinion, expresses the secondary idea of multitude, and is an abbreviation of the suffix *liko*, nominative masculine *lik*, e. g. *kolik*, "quantus," of which more hereafter. From this *KOLIKO* come, I imagine, the adverbs *kolyma* and *kolymi*, as, in Sanscrit, the plural instrumental शनैः *śanāis* expresses

* See Kopitar's Glossary to the Glagolita. Dobrowsky gives merely *tolyma*.

nation, have completely assumed the character of derivative suffixes. The final vowels of the pronominal bases, and of the compound plural themes *asma* and *yushma*, are lengthened before them, probably to make up for the loss of a *7* sound of the neuter of pronouns of the third person and of the ablative of the first and second person singular and plural (comp § 404), hence, *tā-dhīś* (nominative *tādīk*), or *tā-dhīśa*, or *tā-dhīksha*, "like to this," "such," "*talīs*," for *tad-dhīś*, &c, *kī-dhīś*, *kī-dhīśa*, *kī-dhīksha*, "*qualis*?" for *kid-dhīś*, &c, *yā-dhīś*, *yā-dhīśa*, *yā-dhīksha*, "*qualis*" (relative), *mā-dhīś*, *mā-dhīśa*, *mā-dhīksha*, "like to me," "my equal", *asmādhīś*, &c, "like to us", *yushmādhīś*, &c, "like to you". From the demonstrative base *i*, or rather from the neuter *it*, which is not used uncompounded, comes *īdhīśa*, &c, "*talīs*" from the subjective demonstrative base *sa* comes *sadhīś*, &c, which, according to its origin, signifies "resembling this," "appearing like this," but is used to express in general what is "similar." But the reason that there is no form *sādhīś*, according to the analogy of *tādhīś*, &c, is clearly this: that this form springs from the real base *sa*, and a neuter *sat* was not used. It is not, therefore, requisite to assume, with the Indian grammarians, that *sadhīś* is an abbreviation of *samā-dhīś*, though, perhaps, from *sama* a form *sama-dhīś* might proceed, as from *sa* the form *sadhīś*. The European cognate languages have, in remarkable agreement with one another, exchanged the old *d* for *l* in these combinations, independently, however, of each other, and simply because the interchange of *d* and *l* or *r* is much used,* and weakened sounds in forms encumbered

* See § 17, where, amongst others, the Gothic *leik* is compared with the Sanscrit *dēha*. If the Gothic expression also means "flesh," it may be observed here, that a word which, in Sanscrit, means simply "flesh," appears in Old High German as a term for the body, while in Lithuanian and Slavonic the "flesh" has become "blood." In form the nearest approach

by composition are readily introduced. In this way *λικος* has become so far estranged from the verb *δερκομαι* that we should have failed to perceive their common origin without the means of comparison afforded by the cognate Sanskrit. We must here again notice a similar fate which has befallen the old *d* of the number Ten in several Asiatic and European Sanskrit languages at the end of compounds (p. 412). And in the preceding case we meet with a concurrent phenomenon in the East: for in Prakrit in the compound under discussion we frequently find *r*—which according to § 20 is often the precursor of *l*—instead of the Sanskrit *d* e.g. *तारिसा* *tārisa* together with *तारिसा* *tādisa* for *तारिसा* *tādri a*.* The Doric *τᾱλικος* closely resembles *tārisa*. The *i* of both languages however springs not from the Sanskrit *ri* for this is an abbreviation of *ar*† the *a* of which in Prakrit and Greek has been weakened to *i*; but the *r* is dislodged entirely. While *λικος* is based on the Sanskrit *दृश* *drīṣa* nominative masculine *drīṣa s*, the pure radical *दृश* *drīṣ* nominative masculine feminine and neuter *drīṣ* is also represented in Greek viz by *ῥιλιξ* and *ομηλιξ*. The Prakrit *kerisa* resembles the interrogative *πηλικος* very closely but it must

approach to the Sanskrit *क्रव्या* *m* flesh is the Lithuanian *kravys*, Slavonic *krav* blood next comes the Old High German base *HRĒHA* nominative *hrēo* 'body' which preserves the original form more truly than the Greek *ρ* *s* and Latin *caro*.

* In my first discussion on this subject I was unacquainted with the resemblance of the Prakrit to its cognate European languages (see Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words pp. 8 and 27). Since then Max Schmidt also (De Pron. Gr. et Lat. p. 72) has shewn the agreement of the Sanskrit formations in *drīṣa s* with the Greek Gothic and Latin in *λ* *s* *leis* and *h* *s*. But he overlooks in the Sanskrit forms the long vowel of the pronominal base on which is based the Greek *η* more anciently *α* and Latin *a* whence it is not requisite to make the adverbs *ρη* *ρη* the basis of the said formations.

† § 1 and Vocalismus Rem. 1

nation, have completely assumed the character of derivative suffixes. The final vowels of the pronominal bases, and of the compound plural themes *asma* and *yushma*, are lengthened before them, probably to make up for the loss of a *T* sound of the neuter of pronouns of the third person and of the ablative of the first and second person singular and plural (comp § 404), hence, *tâ-driś* (nominative *tâdrih*), or *tâ-driśa*, or *tâ-driksha*, "like to this," "such," "*talis*," for *tad-driś*, &c, *kî-driś*, *kî-driśa*, *kî-driksha*, "*qualis*?" for *kud-driś*, &c, *yâ-driś*, *yâ-driśa*, *yâ-driksha*, "*qualis*" (relative), *mâ-driś*, *mâ-driśa*, *mâ-driksha*, "like to me," "my equal", *asmâ-driś*, &c., "like to us", *yushmâ-driś*, &c, "like to you". From the demonstrative base *i*, or rather from the neuter *it*, which is not used uncompounded, comes *îdriśa*, &c, "*talis*" from the subjective demonstrative base *sa* comes *sâdriś*, &c, which, according to its origin, signifies "resembling this," "appearing like this," but is used to express in general what is "similar". But the reason that there is no form *sâdriś*, according to the analogy of *tâdriś*, &c, is clearly this: that this form springs from the real base *sa*, and a neuter *sai* was not used. It is not, therefore, requisite to assume, with the Indian grammarians, that *sâdriś* is an abbreviation of *samâ-driś*, though, perhaps, from *sama* a form *sama-driś* might proceed, as from *sa* the form *sâdriś*. The European cognate languages have, in remarkable agreement with one another, exchanged the old *d* for *l* in these combinations, independently, however, of each other, and simply because the interchange of *d* and *l* or *i* is much used,* and weakened sounds in forms encumbered

* See § 17, where, amongst others, the Gothic *leik* is compared with the Sanscrit *dêha*. If the Gothic expression also means "flesh," it may be observed here, that a word which, in Sanscrit, means simply "flesh," appears in Old High German as a term for the body, while in Lithuanian and Slavonic the "flesh" has become "blood". In form the nearest approach

by composition are readily introduced. In this way *λικος* has become so far estranged from the verb *δερκοω* that we should have failed to perceive their common origin without the means of comparison afforded by the cognate Sanscrit. We must here again notice a similar fate which has befallen the old *d* of the number *ten* in several Asiatic and European-Sanscrit languages at the end of compounds (p. 442). And in the preceding case we meet with a concurrent phenomenon in the East: for in Prakrit in the compound under discussion we frequently find *r*—which according to § 20 is often the precursor of *l*—instead of the Sanscrit *d*. *e.g.* *नित्त तारिसा* together with *नित्त तदिसा* for *नित्त तद्रि* *a*.* The Doric *τῦλικος* closely resembles *tarisa*. The *ι* of both languages however springs not from the Sanscrit *ri* for this is an abbreviation of *ar*† the *a* of which in Prakrit and Greek has been weakened to *ι* but the *r* is dislodged entirely. While *λικος* is based on the Sanscrit *दृश drisa* nominative masculine *drisa s* the pure radical *दृश् dris* nominative masculine feminine and neuter *dris* is also represented in Greek viz by *ῥιλιξ* and *οῤῥιλιξ*. The Prakrit *kerisa* resembles the interrogative *πηλικος* very closely but it must

approach to the Sanscrit *क्रात्या m*, flesh is the Lithuanian *krauya-s* Sclavonic *krovь* blood next comes the Old High German base *HRĒWA* nominative *hr o* body which preserves the original form more truly than the Greek *ρ* *ς* and Latin *caro*.

* In my first discussion on this subject I was unacquainted with the resemblance of the Prakrit to its cognate European languages (see *Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words* pp. 8 and 27). Since then Max Schmidt also (*De Pron. Gr. et Lat.* p. 72) has shewn the agreement of the Sanscrit formations in *d isa s* with the Greek Gothic and Latin in *λ* *ς* *lei s* and *li s*. But he overlooks in the Sanscrit forms the long vowel of the pronominal base on which is based the Greek *η* more anciently and Latin *ā* whence it is not requisite to make the adverbs *η* *τη* *πτη* the basis of the said formations.

† § 1 and Vocalismus Rem. 1

not be overlooked, that the Prakrit *ê* is a corruption of *î*,* while *πηλίκος* stands for *πᾶλίκος*, and is based, not on the Sanscrit *kīdriśa-s*, but on a *kādrīśa-s* to be expected from the base *ka*, and which probably originally existed, to which, also, the Gothic *hvêleiks* belongs

416. In the *hvêleiks* (theme *hvêleika*) just mentioned, with which our *welcher*, "which," is connected, as also in *hvêlauds* (§ 409.), the Gothic has retained the vowel length, which is thousands of years old, with this difference only, that *î* is replaced by *ê*, a circumstance of rare occurrence (§ 69) There is no demonstrative *thêleiks* corresponding to *hvêleiks*, but instead of it *svaleiks*, our *solcher*, "such," like *sialauds* for *thêlauds* (§ 409), but the Anglo Saxon and Old Northern employ *thylic*, *thîlikr*, corresponding to the Greek *τηλίκος* and Sanscrit *tādriśa-s* (Grimm III. 40). The Gothic *lciks*, "similar," however, occurs also in combinations other than the ancient pronominal ones, never, however, by itself, but instead of it is used *ga-leiks*, our *gleich*, from *ge-leich*, which may be looked upon as the continuation of the Sanscrit *sadrīśa-s* mentioned above for as the inseparable preposition *स* *sa*, *सम्* *sam*, has, in Gothic, become *ga* (Grimm II. 1018), so may also the pronominal base, from which those prepositions have sprung, be expected as prefix in the form of *ga* In *analeiks*,† our *ahnlich*, "like," *ana*, in my opinion, stands, in like manner, as a pronoun, not as a preposition, and answers to the Sanscrit-Lithuanian demonstrative base *ana* (§ 372) *analeiks* therefore signifies "like to this" In the other compounds, also, of this kind, with the exception of *manleika* (theme *-leikan*), "likeness," literally "man-resembling," the first member of the word corresponds more or less to a pronominal idea These compounds are, *antharleika*, "variety," which pre-supposes an adjective, *antharleiks*, as

* Hoefer De Pracita Dialecto, p 29

† To be deduced from the adverb *analeihô*,

connected in sense with the Sanscrit *anyā-drīsa* s like to another of a different kind whence *alyaleiks* deducing it from *alyaleikōs* *τερεως* is the countertype in form *samaleikō* *ἴσως* which pre-supposes an adjective *samaleik(a)s* like to the same analogous to the Greek *ομῆλιξ* and Latin *similis* * *ibnaleiks* equal like the simple *ibn(a)-s* according to its origin the former signifies seeming equal *missaleiks* various I cannot avoid expressing here the conjecture that the Gothic prefix *missa* our *miss* may be of pronominal origin and connected with the Lithuanian base *WISSA* nominative *wissa* s all and therefore also with the Sanscrit *विश्व* *visva* by the very common exchange of *v* for *m* (§ 63) According to the explanation given above (§ 392) of *विश्व* *visva* this word through the signification of the preposition *वि* *vi* would be very well adapted to express the idea of variety And the Gothic *missa* (the bare theme) might originally have signified *alius* and still be identical with the Sanscrit Lithuanian term for all at least its influence in composition is similar to our *aber* which is akin to the Sanscrit *apara* *alius* (see § 350) in compounds like *aberwitz* delirium *aberglaube* superstition" Our *missethat* therefore Gothic *missadēds* misdeed would be = *Aber That* a deed different from the right and *Missgunst* ill will would be *Aber gunst* wrong will and the *missaleiks* given above would originally signify like to another This conjecture is powerfully supported and confirmed almost beyond doubt by the adverb *misso* which springs from the theme *MISSA* (compare p 384) which signifies one another *gōleith* *izvis* *missō* *ασπασασθε*

* The simple *sama* (theme *saman*) means the same and corresponds to the Sanscrit *sama* s 'equal, 'similar and Greek *μο-ς* the theme being lengthened by an *n* To this head also must be referred *sums* (theme *sūma*) any one which has introduced a *u* on account of the liquid but to make up for this has dropped the *n*

ἅλλῃλους (1 Cor. xvi. 20). The original meaning "all" is still perceptible in this, as *missō*, in one word, expresses "the one and the other." In German, the *lich*, which is based on the Gothic *leiks*, and which in *welcher* and *solcher* has dropped the *i*, and in *gleich* gives *ei* as answering to the old *i*, is much more extensively diffused, and has completely assumed the character of a derivative suffix in words like *jährlich*, "yearly," *jämmerlich*, "lamentable," *glücklich*, "fortunate," *schmerzlich*, "painful," &c. The occurrence of the simple word in Northern, Anglo-Saxon, and English, may be explained by its being formed by abbreviating the Gothic *galeiks*, our *gleich*, by removing the entire prefix.

417. An objection against the identity of the Gothic suffix *leika* and Greek *λίκος* could hardly be raised from the non-mutation of sound in the middle tenuis. I refer the reader, on this head, to § 89., for example to the connection of the Gothic *slēpa* and Old High German *msuepm* with the Sanscrit *svapimī*, Latin *sopio*, and Greek *ὑπνός*, in spite of the retention of the old tenuis. The long *i* (in Gothic written *ei*) in the Germanic formation, answering to the short *i* in the Greek *λίκος*, and Prakrit *rīsa* or *dīsa*, will still less be a ground for rejecting the identity of the suffix under discussion in the three languages, for as the original form is *darka* (see p. 598), the rejection of the *r* may well have been compensated by lengthening the preceding vowel, and the Germanic, therefore, in this respect, approaches the original form one degree closer than the cognate Hellenic and Prakrit idiom.

418. The Old Slavonic exhibits our suffix exactly in the same form as the Greek, in the masculine and neuter *likō*; nominative masculine *lik* (according to § 257.), neuter *liko*, hence *tolik*, *toliko*, "*talīs*," "*tale*," or "*tantus*," "*tantum*," = Greek *τηλίκος*, *τηλίκον*, and Prakrit *tārisō*, *tāris-an*, Sanscrit

* See the Old High German compounds of this kind in Graff II. 105

tádrisās tádrisam lolik loliko qualis quale quantus quantum ? = Greek *πηλικος πηλικον* Prakrit *keriso kērisan* Sanscrit *kidrisas kidrisam yelik yelilo* relative = Greek *ηλικος ηλικοι* Prakrit *yurisō yurisan* Sanscrit *yādrisās yādrisam* With respect to the relative expression it is important to remark that in this derivative the base *ye* (euphonic for *yo*) which commonly signifies he (§ 282) has preserved the original relative signification without the elsewhere necessary enclitic *she* Dobrowsky however (p 344) in assuming *ik* alone in this derivative as suffix *interposito tamen l* appears not to have noticed the surprising similarity of the Greek forms in *λικος* otherwise he would have assigned to the *l* a more important share in the work of derivation The Slavonic forms differ from those of the cognate languages in this that they do not lengthen the final vowel of the primitive pronoun or replace *o* by *a* for according to § 255 *a* the Slavonic *o* corresponds to the Sanscrit short *a* and *a* to the long *ā* We should therefore look for *lolik* as answering to the Sanscrit *tadrisa s* and Prakrit *tārisō* It cannot however be matter of surprise that in the course of thousands of years which separate the Slavonic from identity with its cognate idioms a weakening of the vowel should have taken place in the preceding case as shortenings weakenings and abrasions of sounds are the most common alterations which time introduces into the original form of a language There are however in Slavonic other formations of cognate meaning in which the base syllable has retained the old weight of the vowels but the suffix has been abbreviated by dropping the syllable *li* and appears in combination with the affix of the definite declension hence *takyi tolis lalyi qualis? yakyi qualis* (relative) * The simple neuters that is those

* Dobrowsky (p 343) incorrectly regards *al* as derivative since in respect

divested of the definite affix *tako*, *kako*, occur as adverbs, the former with the signification "so," the latter with that of "how?" By the rejection of the syllable *h*, *takyĩ* and its correlatives, in respect to their last element, become identical with the interrogative *kyĩ*, "quæ?" which is likewise declined definitely, and therefore we cannot entirely set aside the objection, that *takyĩ* is a compound of the demonstrative with the interrogative. The explanation given above is to be preferred, because by it the *a* of the first member of the compound, as also the signification of the whole, is shewn to have a very ancient foundation, while by the second mode we should not be able to see why *tokyĩ*, *nykyĩ*, *lokyĩ*, should not be used, or *tkyĩ*, *ikyĩ*, and why the mere accusative of the interrogative to the pronoun preceding should have the same effect as the suffix under discussion has in the cognate languages.

419 But if the Old Slavonic correlatives *takyĩ*, *kakyĩ*, *yakyĩ*, are abbreviations of *tahkyĩ*, &c, then the analogous and æqui-significant Lithuanian forms *toks*, "talis," *koks*, "qualis" (theme *tokia*, *kokia*, see § 111), must also be viewed in this light, and the agreement of the former with the *tockin* (Grimm III 40), which exists in Old Swedish, together with *tolik* and *tolkin*, would consequently not be fortuitous. The Latin suffix *li* in *tālis*, *quālis*, *æquālis*,[†] exhibits a contrary abbreviation, since it has retained the full extent of the original adjective of simi-

respect to the primitive pronoun he proceeds from the abbreviated nominative masculine *t'*, *k'*, *i*, and, in general, is very obscure regarding the theme of the base words, and the historical relation of the *o* to *a*, which, in § 255 *a*, is developed through the Sanscrit, as also its length.

* According to the analogy of *hto*, *chto*, § 400

† *Æqualis* is, probably, with regard to its last element, identical with *qualis*, inasmuch as *æquus* is most probably connected with the Sanscrit *eka-s*, "unus," and the latter is, in its final syllable, identical with the interrogative base *ha* (§ 308)

larity is also the long vowel of the pronominal base but has lost the last syllable or the guttural only of *तद्रीक* *tādrik* क्रीडक् *kīdrik* (§ 415) ἡλικς *omḥalikς*. The identity of the formation lies beyond all doubt and Voss has already shewn that *tālis* is identical with *ταλικος*. To the constant occurrence of a long *ā* in these ancient forms may be ascribed the fact that in more modern formations of this sort particularly belonging to the Latin an *ā* is inserted before the suffix or added to the primitive base in case it terminates with a consonant hence *regulis legulis conjugulis hiemulis carnulis augurulis* &c. On the other hand in bases with a short final vowel this is merely lengthened and the *u* (*o*) of the second declension is changed into a long *i* instead of the short *i* which is else where introduced before suffixes hence *civilis hostilis juvenilis* from *civi hosti juveni*,* and so also *virilis* from *viru* *puerilis* from *pueru* *servilis* from *servu* &c. *amilis* also from the organic *a* of the fourth declension which is no less subject to be weakened to *i* as is proved by the dative ablatives in *i bus*. Here perhaps may be classed also though with a short *i* words in *ti lis* or *si lis* which spring either from lost abstracts in *ti s* *si s*† or passive participles the *u* of which must be weakened before the new suffix to *i* thus *factilis missilis* either from the obsolete abstracts *facti s* *missi s*—whence the secondary forms *factio missio*—or from *factus* (weakened from *factus* § 6) *missus*. So also *similis* with short *i* from the lost primitive *simu s*=Sanskrit *sama s* similar Gothic *sama* (theme *saman*) and Greek ὅμος and *humilis*

* From the primitive base *juven*=Sanskrit *yuvan* comes *juvenilis* *gentilis* comes from a base *genti* (compare Lithuan *gentis* kinsman) the *i* of which and consequently the *t* also are suppressed in the nominative *gens*

† Compare Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words p. 44

from *humu-s*. The *a* of the first declension, which is originally long (§ 118), has preserved its length before this suffix, hence, *vitālis*, *bestiālis*, *amphorālis*. As the *u* of the second declension, according to its derivation, represents a short *a* (§ 116), and, in the feminine, passes into *a*, it is not extraordinary that, in this class of words also, adjectives in *-lis* occur, instead of *-lis*, as *fatā-lis*, *infernū-lis*, *liberā-lis*. So, also, *esuriā-lis*, from *esurie-s*, where it is to be observed that the *ē* of the fifth declension springs from *ā* (§§ 151 and 137) on the other hand, in *fidē-lis*, the *ē* is retained. *Famē-lucus* stands alone, and is remarkable, as it has preserved our suffix entire, and its *lucus* corresponds exactly to the Greek *λίκος*. If, as I readily assume with M Schmidt (l c p 73), *fēhic-s*, also, should be classed here, as analogous to *ῥ-λιξ*, *ὀμῥ-λιξ*,* still I do not look for its primitive element in the root *fe*, from which come *fe-tus*, *fe-tura*, *fe-mina*, &c, but in a lost substantive base, which is, in Sanscrit, *भय* *bhāy*, and signifies "fortune"† *Felix*, therefore, would have lost a guttural, as *ful-men* for *fulg-men*, *lu-men* for *luc-men*, and in respect to its last element, and the signification of its first member, it would agree excellently with our *gluck-lich*, "fortunate". Here it is to be observed, that the suffix under discussion does not form, in the cognate languages, any primitive words direct from the root, but only derivatives or compounds. Contrary, therefore, to my former conjecture, I can no longer class words like *agilis*, *fragilis*, *docilis*, in respect to their suffix, with words "like the abovementioned, *civilis*, *utilis*, *servilis*. In the former, the *l* is, perhaps, primitive, and not, as in the latter, a corruption of *d*. In this case, a suffix *la* or *ila*, in Sanscrit, presents itself for comparison, as in

* But with long *i* like the Gothic *leiks* (§ 417)

† Compare *munda-bhāy*, "having bad fortune," "unfortunate". The cognate *bhāga* is more used

an *ila s* wind from *an* to blow to which we shall return when treating of the formation of words. I am unable to cite in Zend an adjective in combination with pronominal bases corresponding to the Sanscrit *dris drisa* or *drishā*, but I find V S p 39 the expression *𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀* *hiaredaresa* like the sun and by it the opinion is confirmed that the *r* of the Sanscrit forms is an abbreviation of *ar*.

PRONOMINAL ADVERBS

420 Locative adverbs are formed in Sanscrit by the suffix *tra* which is attached directly to the true theme hence *a tra* here *ta tra* there *amu tra* yonder *ku tra* where? *ya tra* where (relative) This *tra* which is in Zend according to § 17 *𐬀𐬎𐬌 thra* (*ithra* here *aiathra* there *yathra* where) is probably a contraction of the comparative suffix *tara* and with regard to its termination perhaps an instrumental (see p 381) The Latin pronominal adverbs *ex tra* and *ul tra* therefore are of the same class excluding the difference of the case forms and also the Gothic ablative adverbs in *thro* mentioned at p 384 compare *tha thro* thence with *𐬢𐬀 ta tra* there *hiathro* whence? with *𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌 kutra* where? and *alyathrō* *alunde* with *𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌 anyatra* *alibi* Locative pronominal adverbs are also formed in Zend by the suffix *𐬀𐬎𐬌 dha* (see p 386 &c) which in Sanscrit is abbreviated to *ha* but is found only in *i ha* here and *sa ha* with (Veda *sa dha*) In Greek corresponds as has been remarked the suffix *θα* of *ἐνθα* *ἐνταῦθα* * and probably also *χο* in *πανταχο* *θα* &c as well as *σε* (p 388) which expresses direction to a place unless the latter has been

* Page 387 With respect to the conjecture there expressed regarding a possible thematic identity between *ṭa*, *ṣṭa* *ṭha* and *ṣṭha* refer to § 373

abbreviated from $\mathfrak{A} \text{ } t\text{ } u$, by rejecting the r and weakening the t to s . In Gothic, the suffix th or d most certainly corresponds, in forms like $h\text{ } u\text{ } a\text{ } -th$ or $h\text{ } u\text{ } a\text{ } -d$, "whither," $a\text{ } l\text{ } y\text{ } a\text{ } -th$, ἄλλοσε, $\gamma\text{ } a\text{ } i\text{ } n\text{ } -d$ (for $\gamma\text{ } a\text{ } i\text{ } n\text{ } a\text{ } -d$), ἐκκίσε. The conjunction $u\text{ } th$, "but," "if," "for," is completely identical with $\alpha\text{ } \theta\text{ } \varsigma$ $u\text{ } d\text{ } h\text{ } a$, $\xi\text{ } \epsilon$ $u\text{ } h\text{ } a$ * The s of $\text{ } -is$ and $u\text{ } l\text{ } -s$ in Latin has been already compared with θi (§ 395. Note)

421 In Sanscrit, adverbs are formed by the suffix $\text{ } a\text{ } s$ $t\text{ } a\text{ } s$, not only from pronominal bases, but also from substantives and adjectives, which express removal from, and frequently supply the place of the ablative. The suffix $t\text{ } a\text{ } s$, as has been before remarked (p 471, Rem 5), is connected also in form with the ablative character, and appears only a continuation of it, or an abbreviation. In Latin, the suffix $t\text{ } u\text{ } s$ corresponds regularly, compare $\alpha\text{ } e\text{ } l\text{ } T\text{ } U\text{ } S$ with $\alpha\text{ } i\text{ } n\text{ } q\text{ } u\text{ } a\text{ } T\text{ } A\text{ } S$, "from heaven." The syllable $t\text{ } u\text{ } r$ of $\text{ } i\text{ } g\text{ } i\text{ } t\text{ } u\text{ } r$, may also be related to it, the s being exchanged for r . The preceding $\text{ } i\text{ } g\text{ } i$ would then, as has been elsewhere remarked (Demonstrative Bases, p 8), admit of comparison with $\xi\text{ } \epsilon$ $u\text{ } h\text{ } a$, "here," to which, with regard to the g , it bears the same relation that $\text{ } e\text{ } g\text{ } o$ does to $\text{ } a\text{ } h\text{ } a\text{ } m$. $\text{ } I\text{ } g\text{ } i\text{ } t\text{ } u\text{ } r$, therefore, would originally signify "hence," or "from this" (ground). In Sanscrit there is a modification of the suffix under discussion, formed by changing the tenuis to the sonant aspirate in $\text{ } a\text{ } -d\text{ } h\text{ } a\text{ } s$, "beneath," and on this is based the Greek $\theta\text{ } \epsilon\text{ } v$ and Slavonic $d\text{ } ŭ$ (see pp 379, 380)† Compare,

* Pp 386, 388. The Sanscrit $\text{ } u\text{ } d\text{ } h$ requires the Greek θ , but, according to the rules for the permutation of sounds, the Gothic d corresponds to the Greek θ at the end of a word, however, th is preferred to d (§ 91.)

† I wish to limit what has been said at § 293 Rem in this particular, that though $\text{ } o\text{ } n\text{ } ō\text{ } ū\text{ } d\text{ } ū$ and $\text{ } o\text{ } ō\text{ } ū\text{ } d\text{ } ū$ are compounds of $\text{ } ū\text{ } d\text{ } ū$, the $\text{ } ū$ of $\text{ } o\text{ } n\text{ } ū\text{ } d\text{ } y\text{ } e$ and $\text{ } t\text{ } ū\text{ } d\text{ } y\text{ } e$ has been developed from the $\text{ } o$ of the bases $\text{ } O\text{ } N\text{ } O$, $\text{ } T\text{ } O$, precisely as the $\text{ } ū$ of $\text{ } ū\text{ } d\text{ } ū$, or $\text{ } y\text{ } ū\text{ } d\text{ } ū$, and $\text{ } ū\text{ } d\text{ } y\text{ } e$ (for $\text{ } y\text{ } ū\text{ } d\text{ } y\text{ } e$) from $\text{ } Y\text{ } O$. I therefore consider the forms

SAN CRIT	GREEK	OLD HIGH GERMAN
<i>lu tas *</i>	$\pi\omicron\theta\epsilon\iota$	<i>ot hū du</i>
<i>ta tas</i>	$\tau\omicron\theta\epsilon\iota$	<i>ot tū dū</i>
<i>yatas</i>	$\omicron\theta\epsilon\iota$	<i>yū dū she</i>

The Latin offers for comparison *unde* for *cunde* (*ali cunde*) and *inde* the *de* of which I have no doubt is connected with the Sanscrit suffix *tas* or *dhas* the Greek $\theta\epsilon\iota$ and Slavonic *du*. *Unde* has in addition received a nasal which is not to be explained by transposition from the Greek $\theta\epsilon\iota$ as the blending of nasal sounds which are governed by the organ of the consonant following is very common. Remark the frequently mentioned relation of *ambo* ἀμφω to the Sanscrit उभौ *ubhau* and Slavonic *oba*. *Alunde* answering to the Sanscrit *anyatas* elsewhere need not be regarded as a compound of *unde* but it is probable that the *u* of *alunde* belongs to the theme of *aliu s* and corresponds therefore to the Indian *a* of *anyatā*. So also *ali bi* and *aliu bi* are strictly compounds of *ibi* and *ubi* but combinations of the dative termination *bi* which is contained in *ti bi* *si bi* *i bi* and *u bi* with the base *ALIU* either suppressing the final vowel—whence *ali bi*—or retaining it as in *aliu bi*. Whether however a nasal has been inserted in *inde* depends upon whether it springs from the base *i*—whence *is ibi* &c.—or from *in*=Sanskrit *ana* (§ 273). The very isolated preposition *de* in Latin is perhaps an abbreviation of the Sanscrit अथस् *adhas* below and therefore in origin identical with the equissonant suffix of *inde unde* and *alunde*. A form *hi nde* or *hu nde* *isti nde* or *istu nde* and *illi nde* or *illu nde* might also be expected. But instead of these we

forms *t di* thence and *i di* whence? which occur only in combination with the preposition *et*, as simple

* From the weakened base *lu* (§ 389) for *katas* to be expected from *ka* on which are based the Creel $\pi\theta$ from θ and Slavonic *i du*

find *hunc*, *istunc*, *illunc*, regarding which it is unknown whence comes their meaning of separation from a place, unless the syllable *de*, as exponent of this direction, has been removed from them, and the enclitic *c* has assumed its place, which would surprise us least in *hunc*. *Hunc* may, perhaps, be an abbreviation of *hunde*, as the neuter *hoc* of *hode* (§ 395). The locative adverbs *hic*, *illic*, *istic*, I regard as datives, of which the character, according to § 200, has been taken from the Sanscrit locative, and which, in *rur*, also has retained the original meaning. *Istic* and *illic* are, for the use of language, sufficiently distinguished from the forms *isti* and *illi*, which are used for the dative relation, while for *hic* a distinction from the proper dative must be differently sought in the dropping the euphonic *u* (from *v*)*. *Hic*, therefore, is, in this respect, distinguished from *hunc*, as the nominative *hic*, for which *hunc* might be expected, from *qī*.

422 Adverbs of time are formed in Sanscrit by the suffix द्वा *dā*, hence *kadā*, “when?”, *tadā*, “then”, *yadā*, “when?”, “at which time”, *ekadā*, “once”, *sadā*, “always” the latter springs from the energetic demonstrative base *sa* (§ 315), whence also *sarva*, “every” (§ 381). Perhaps the Greek τε is, in an anomalous manner, connected with this *dā*, by a permutation of sound, which has become a principle in Germanic, since nearly all old medials, as far as they have not experienced a second modification in High German, become tenues. In Slavonic corresponds the suffix *gda*, which I think must be divided into *g-da*, since I regard it as a derivative of the interrogative base, which has ceased to be used alone, and which may have signified “when,” or “once on a time”, and the guttural tenuis has given place to a medial, on account of the *d* following; according to the analogy of *gdye*, “where?” (§ 293 Rem). This *gda*, unconscious of its derivation, is combined with the interrogative itself, hence

* See p 549 and §§ 394 395

logde when? and *logda* then But in MSS is found for *inogda* "at another time" also the simple *inda* as a more exact countertype of the Sanscrit *anya dā* but with the *o* of the base *IAO* suppressed which is retained in *inogda* and similar forms to avoid the great accumulation of consonants Together with *yegda* etc occurs also the simple *yeda* but with a change of signification viz as an interrogative particle (Dobr p 432) In Lithuanian the simple suffix appears both in the unweakened interrogative base and in other pronouns and words the nature of which borders on that of pronouns and which in Sanscrit are declined like pronouns Thus *niekada* never after withdrawing the negative element corresponds to the Sanscrit *ekadā* once *kāda* when and *tada* then" are identical with the Sanscrit expressions of the same sound and signification *anyada* means always and *anday* (for *anada*) at that time It may be allowed here to mention two other Lithuanian d verbs of time which are not indeed connected with the suffix *dā* but required previous mention on other accounts — I mean *dabar* now" and *komet* when? In the first part of *da bar* I believe may be seen a weakened form of the demonstrative base *ta* in the latter a remnant of the term for time mentioned at p 195 viz *para* Bengali *bar* and therefore a word akin to the syllable *ber* in the Latin name for months As regards however the final portion of *komet* it recalls on account of the frequent interchange of *v* and *m* the suffix *cat* in the Sanscrit adverbs of time *tūat* now *yūat* at which time (§ 112) with which we have endeavoured to compare the Greek *τῆμος ἥμος* We return to the suffix *da* in order to remark that by a perversion of the language it is so regarded as though the adverbs formed with it were substantives or adjectives capable of declension Thus arise the forms in *dās* *dar* and *dav* the two first with feminine genitive and dative termination the last with the masculine plural instrumental ter

mination For the *mekadà* mentioned above occurs, therefore, also *mekadós*, *mekadai*, and *mekadais* For *dai* is also written *day*, hence *taday* as well as *tadà*; and the form *tad* occurs with *à* suppressed, and *taddà*, *tadday*, with *d* doubled, just as *kad*, *kaddà*, *kadday*, for *kadà* To the latter, and to the Sanscrit कदा *kadà*, corresponds, perhaps, the Latin *quando*, so that a nasal would have been inserted before the *T* sound, as above in *unde* (p 591). The correlative *tando*, however, is wanting The following table may serve as a general view of the points of comparison obtained

SANSKRIT	LITH	OLD SCI.	GREEK	LATIN
<i>kadà</i> ,	<i>kadà</i> ,	<i>kogda</i> ,	πότς,	<i>quando</i>
<i>tadà</i> ,	<i>tadà</i> ,	<i>togda</i> ,	τότς,	
<i>yadà</i> ,		<i>yegda</i> ,	ὅτς,	
<i>anyadà</i> ,		<i>inda</i> ,	ἄλλοτς,	

423 The suffix *dà* is combined in Sanscrit with *nīm*, which appears to me to be an accusative form of a feminine pronominal base *nī*, that the masculine and neuter *na* (p 335) might easily form in the feminine, as well as *nā* (see § 172) Thus arise *tadānīm*, “then,” and *idānīm*, “now” As, however, the simple form *idà* has become obsolete, the Indian grammarians assume a suffix *dānīm* As regards the origin of the time-defining *dà*, it appears to be an abbreviation of द्वा *divà*, “by day,” by the rejection of *v*, as, in Latin, *ev* is rejected *nolo* (from *nevolo*) I recognise a different kind of abbreviation of this *divà* in अद्य *a-dya*, “to-day,” “now,” where the *v* only of *divà* is removed, and the final *à* shortened, and the *v*, according to a universal phonetic law, changed into य्

424 There is nothing similar in the cognate languages to the Greek correlatives in νίκα—πηνίκα, τήνίκα, ἡνίκα—besides the Latin *donec*, *donecum*, before mentioned, unless it be the Sanscrit adverb अनिशम् *anisham*, “eternal,” “perpetual”

Buttmann is inclined to see in *ικα* an accusative termination from *ιν ιξ* to be conjectured from the Latin *ix*, *vices* (Lexil II p 227) I assent to this explanation only in so far as the recognition of a substantive accusative in the concluding part of these formations I do not however divide *πη ικα* &c but *πη ιικα* and thus make them genuine compounds of which the first member does not contain a case termination but the bare theme We may regard therefore *τη τη* and *η* as feminine bases or as above in *τημος ημος* lengthened forms of the masculine and neuter* The latter would be more agreeable to the original principle of the formation of compounds according to which pronouns and adjectives at the beginning of compounds express no distinction of sex and therefore never appear in the form of the theme which is peculiar to the feminine but in that which is common to the masculine and neuter in which properly there is no sex expressed and from which the feminine theme is a derivative In the preceding case however the final substantive is really feminine if as I conjecture it is akin to the Sanscrit निश *nis* nominative निक् *nik* night the accusative of which *nisam* is contained in the abovementioned *anisam* eternal literally without night It is certain that the Sanscrit accusative *nisam* could in Greek take no other form than *νικα* as *इ* proceeds from *क्* and in Greek always appears as *κ* (§ 21) The Greek base *νικτ* the Latin *noct* and the Gothic *naht* (nominative *nahts*) are in Sanscrit represented by *nakt* of which only the accusative *naktam* = *noctem* *νικτα* remains in use as an adverb (by night) and in the unorganic compound *नक्तचर* *naktan chara* night walker We might therefore derive *naktam* also from a theme *nakta* If then in Sanscrit, in disadvantageous comparison with its cognate languages only an obscure remnant of this *nakt* is

* See § 3 2

left in the accusative just mentioned, the reverse case cannot be surprising, that the Greek should have retained of *νύς*, *nik*, which is most probably akin to *nakt*, only the accusative in the compounds under discussion. As, then, in *ἡμέρα* *tadā*, and similar formations, if the explanation of the suffix given above be well founded (§. 423), there is only a formal expression of "day," and yet time in general is understood in it, so, according to the view here proposed, in *τηνίκα*, "might" would be selected as the representative of time in general, or of a particular point of time, which might easily take place through the dimming of the primary meaning of the concluding element. So the Sanscrit *adya*, "to-day," "on this day" its original meaning being lost sight of is not unfrequently used in the sense of "now," "in this moment." If *αὐτίκα* is based on the same principle of formation as *τηνίκα*, &c., it is then an abbreviation of *αὐτη-νίκα*, which is also Buttmann's conjecture, since he derives it from *τὴν αὐτὴν ἴκα*, and the omission of the *ην* would resemble that of the Latin *ev* in *nolo*, and that of *iv* in the Sanscrit suffix *dā*, from *divā*. But if we follow C. G. Schmidt (*Quæst. Gramm. de Præp. Gr.* p. 49) in taking *αὐτίκα* as an unabbreviated form, we might then, by the same analogy, derive *τηνίκα* from *τῆνος*, which we would not, however, do, as there is no form *πῆνος*, whence we might derive *πηνίκα*, nor *ῆνος*, whence *ῆνίκα*.

425 Adverbs of kind and manner are formed in Sanscrit by addition of the suffixes *थम्* *tham* and *तथा* *thā*. The former occurs only in *कथम्* *katham*, "how?" and *इत्थम्* *ittham*, "so," and it has been before compared with the Latin *tem* in *in-tem* and *au-tem* (§. 378). To *thā* answers the Latin *ta* in *ita* and *aluta*, which latter corresponds to the Sanscrit *अन्यथा* *anyathā*, "in another manner." Besides these are formed, in Sanscrit, by this suffix, *tathā*, "so," *yathā*, "how?" (relative) and *sarvathā*, "in every way." A suffix *ति*, of the same signification, forms with the demonstrative base *i* the adverb *iti*, "so," the only analogous form to which is

the preposition *अति* *ati* over which springs from the pronominal base *अ* *a** In Latin *uli* *us* and with the *i* abraded *ut* correspond in regard to the suffix The *i* of *utidem* may first have arisen in Latin as a weakening of *ita* in Zend *𑀘𑀓𑀭* *itha* occasioned by the incumbrance of the *dem* (§ 6) The suffixes *चम्* *tham* and *चा* *thā* are related to one another as accusative and instrumental the latter according to the principle of the Zend language (§ 158) and which contrary to a conjecture given at § 378 I now believe must be taken in this sense The Zend which generally shortens the long *ā* at the end of polysyllabic words uses the suffix under discussion like the Latin with a short final vowel hence *𑀘𑀓𑀭* *itha* like *ita* I have not met with the suffix *tham* in Zend for *𑀘𑀓𑀭* *kutha* is used for *कथम्* *katham* and for *इत्थम्* *ittham* the *𑀘𑀓𑀭* *itha* just mentioned

* Berlin Jahrb Nov 1830 p 70^o

THE VERB

426 The Sanscrit has two forms for the active, of which the one is appointed for the transitive and outwardly-operating direction of its powers, and is called by the Indian grammarians *parasmâi-padam*, equivalent to "stranger form",^{*} the other, which is called *âtmanêpadam*, i.e. "self form,"[†] serves, when it stands in its primitive signification, for reflective or intransitive purposes, or shews that the action is to be placed to the credit of the subject, or stands in some near relation thereto. For instance, *dâ*, "give," in the *âtmanêpadam*, in conjunction with the preposition *â*, has the force of "take," i.e. "give oneself" the causative *darśayâmi*, "to make to see," "to shew," acquires, through the terminations of the *âtmanêpadam*, the signification "shew itself", *î*, "lie" (*îlê = κείται*), *âs*, "sit" (*âstê = ἵσται*, p. 118), *mud*, "to be pleased," "please oneself," *ruch*, "to shine," "please," "please oneself," are only used in the *âtmanêpadam*, *yâch*, "to require," "pray," has both forms, but the reflective prevails, as we most generally require or pray for our own advantage. In general, however, the language, as it at present exists, disposes of both forms in rather an arbitrary manner. But few verbs have retained the two, and where this happens, the primitive intention of both seldom shews itself distinctly. Of the cognate languages, only the Zend, the Greek, and the Gothic have retained this primitive form, for that the Gothic passive is

* *परास्मै* *parasmâi* is the dative of *para*, "the other"

† *आत्मन्* *âtman*, "soul," of which the dative, *âtmanê*, is used above, in the oblique cases often fills the place of a pronoun of the third person, generally with a reflective signification

identical in construction with the Indo Greek middle has been already shewn in my Conjugation system * Grimm has since directed attention to two expressions which have remained unnoticed in former Grammars and which are of the greatest importance as having preserved the old medial form also in a medial signification. Ulphilas namely twice (Matt xxv 43 and Mark x 39) translates *καταβατω* by *atsteigadau* and once (Matt xxv 13) *ρυσασθω* by *lausyadau*. Lately also v Gabelentz and Lobe in their valuable edition of Ulphilas (pp 187 and 225) have justly assigned the following forms to one lately brought to light by Cisthione's edition of St Paul's Epistles to the middle *υψιunnanda γνωσονται* (John xiii 35) *fuanda vituperant* (Rom ix 19) *gatasyada undivanein ειδυσηται αφθαριαν* (1 Cor xv 54) *taurkyadu εργαζεται* (2 Cor iv 17) *ustuhada κατα εργαζεται* (2 Cor vii 10) and *lugandau γαμησατωσαι* (1 Cor vii 9). Grimm in the first edition of his Grammar (p 414) gives the forms *atsteigadau* and *lausyadau* as I doubt not justly as imperatives but considers them as erroneous transferences of the Greek expressions into the passive form. What however could induce Ulphilas to translate the middle *ρυσασθω* not to mention the active *καταβατω* by a passive having so many other opportunities for exchanging Greek middles for passives? In the second edition (I 85b) Grimm asks: Have we here the third conjugation of a Gothic middle? Were they however conjunctiva media they must then have retained the characteristic *z* of this word and in this respect have answered to the Indo-Greek media such as *bharéta* (from *bharata*) *φεροιστο*. The middle and passive could not be distinguished by the insertion or suppression of the exponent of the conjunctive relation. I explain therefore *atsteigadau* and *lausyadau* as well as the later *lugandau* (*γαμησατωσαν*) without hesitation as

* I 1. Compare *Vocalismus* p 79 and Grimm I 10. 0

imperatives of the middle voice, as they answer excellently well to the Sanscrit medial imperatives, as *bhar-a-lām*, "he should bear or receive", *bhar-a-nlām*, "they should bear or receive" The Gothic *au* has the same relation here to the Sanscrit *ām*, as, in the first conjunctive person active, where, for instance *sizau*, "*ich sei*," "I may be," answers to the Sanscrit *syām* The old *m* has merged into *u*, and formed a diphthong with the preceding *a* (compare § 255 *g*) In respect to form, however, *atstergadau*, *lausyadau*, and *lungandau* are passive, and Ulfilas would probably have also rendered "he should be freed" by *lausyadau* In the translation of the Bible, however, an occasion for the use of the passive imperative rarely occurs.

427 While the Greek and Gothic have carried over the medial form into the passive, so that the passive and middle, with the exception of the Greek aorist and future, are perfectly identical, in the Sanscrit and Zend the passive, indeed, exhibits the more important terminations of the middle, through which the symbolical retro-operation of the action on the subject is expressed, but a practical distinction occurs in the special tenses (§ 109ⁿ), in that the syllable *ya* of which more hereafter is appended to the root, but the characteristic additions and other peculiarities, by which the different classes are distinguished in the two active forms, are resumed In Greek, *δείκ-νυ-ται* is as well passive as medial, but in Sanscrit *चिनुते* *chi-nu-tê*, from *चि* *chi*, "collect," is only medial, and the passive is *chi-ya-tê* In Greek, *δίδοται*, *ἵσταται*, are as well passive as medial, in Sanscrit the kindred forms *दत्ते* *dat-tê*, anomalous for *dada-tê*, *तिष्ठते* *tishtha-tê* only medial, and their passive becomes *dî-yatê*, *sthi'-yatê** As the Sanscrit and Zend passive, except that with the omission of the class peculiarities

* Some of the roots in *â* weaken that vowel to *i* before the passive characteristic *ya*.

it is formed immediately from the root answers to other derivative verbs the causal desiderative and intensive we in treating of them shall return to it. The middle however we shall treat *pari passu* with the transitive active form as it is distinguished from this latter in nearly every case only by the extension of the personal terminations.

428 The moods in Sanscrit are five if we include the indicative in which in fact no mood but only mere relations of time are expressed. The absence of modal necessary notions is its characteristic. The other moods are the potential imperative precative and conditional. Besides these we find in the Vēdas fragments of a mood which in the principle of its formation corresponds to the Greek subjunctive and by the grammarians is called *let*.* The same moods even to the conjunctive or *let* exist in Zend only. I am not able to lay down the conditional which stands in nearest connection with the future and which in Sanscrit also is very rare. The infinitive and participle belong to the noun. The indicative has six tenses viz one present three preterites and two futures. The preterites in form correspond to the Greek imperfect aorist and perfect. With their use however the language in its present condition deals very capriciously for which reason in my Grammar I have named them only with reference to their form the first single formed augmented preterite the second multiform augmented preterite and the third reduplicated preterite. Both futures are likewise indistinguishable in their use and I name them according to their composition the one which answers to the Greek

* The Indian grammarians name the tenses and moods after vowels which for the names of the principal tense are inserted between *ṛ* and *ṛ* *i*, and for the names of the secondary between *ṛ* *i* and *ṛ* *n*. Thus the names run *lat* *lit*, *lut* *lrit*, *l i t* *lot* *lan*, *ln*, *lun*, *lrin*. See Colbrooke's Grammar pp 13. 181

and Lithuanian future, and is most used, the auxiliary future, the other, the participial future, as its first element is a participle which answers to the Latin in *turus*. In the Zend I have not yet detected this tense, but all the other Sanscrit tenses I have, and have given proofs of this in the reviews mentioned in the preface (p. xi). The moods which stand opposed to the indicative have, in Sanscrit and Zend, only one tense, yet the potential and precativè have, in fact, such a relation to each other, as, in Greek, the present and second aorist of the optative, and Pânni embraces both of these modal forms under the name *lin*. The same relation between wishing and praying may also be expressed by the potential, which is in fact more general use, though the latter be strictly represented by the precativè. In the Vêdas traces are apparent of a further elaboration of the moods into various tenses, and it may hence be inferred, that what the European languages, in their developement of the moods, have in excess over the Sanscrit and Zend, dates, at least in its origin, from the period of the unity of the language.

429 The numbers of the verb are three in most of the languages here treated of. The Latin verb has, like its noun, lost the dual, but the German has preserved the verbal dual in its oldest dialect, the Gothic, in preference to that of the noun, the Old Slavonic retains it in both, and so has the Lithuanian to the present day. The Pali and Prakrit, otherwise so near to the Sanscrit, have, like the Latin, parted with both the dual and the middle mood of the active. In opposition to the Semitic, there is no distinction of gender in the personal signs of the Sanscrit family, which is not surprising, as the two first persons, even in their simple condition, are without the distinction, while the Semitic dispenses with it only in the first person, as well simple as in the verb, but, in the second and third, in both conditions distinguishes the

masculine from the feminine. The Old Sclavonic has gained a feminine in an inorganic fashion and by a divergence from the primary type of its class as well in its simple pronoun of the first person as in the three persons of the verb. As namely *ia* we two has the force of a masculine substantive dual to which the feminine in *tye* corresponds (§ 273) so by the power of analogy out of that *ia* has been developed a feminine *nye* and in accordance with this in the verb also for instance *ia* *yesia* we two are (masculine) *nye* *yesnye* (feminine) as opposed to the Sanscrit *śas* (contracted from *asas*) and the Lithuanian *esia*. In the same manner in the second and third dual persons which in the masculine are both *yesta* answering to the Sanscrit *(a)sthas* *(a)stas* and the Greek *εστον* a female *yestyne* *nytyn* has been formed for as in virtue of the law by which the terminating sibilant of the Sanscrit form is necessarily rejected (see § 235 1) the verbal dual ending became identical with that of the noun and as moreover the termination *ta* has precisely the same sound with the independent *ta* these two (men) the way was thus opened to the formation of a feminine personal termination *tye* which is also identical with the independent *tye* these two (women). These feminine verbal terminations are in any case worthy of observation as they rest on the feeling of the grammatical identity of the verb with the noun and show that the spirit of the language was vitally imbued with the principle of close connection which had of old arisen between the simple pronoun and that which is joined with the verbal bases.

430 With respect to the personal signs the tenses and moods fall most evidently in Sanscrit Zend and Greek into two classes. The one is fuller the other more contracted in its termination. To the first class belong those tenses which in Greek we are accustomed to call the chief namely the present future and perfect or reduplicated

preterite, whose terminations, however, have undergone serious mutilations in the three sister languages, which clearly have their foundation in the incumbance of the commencement by the reduplication syllable. To the second class belong the augmented preterites, and, in Sanscrit and Zend, all the moods not indicative, with the exception of the present of the *lēt* or conjunctive, and of those terminations of the imperative which are peculiar to this mood, and are rather full than contracted. In Greek, the conjunctive has the full, but the optative, which answers to the Sanscrit potential, the contracted. The termination μ of $\tauύπτοιμι$ is, as we have elsewhere observed, τ moigamic, as appears from a comparison with the $\tauυπτοίμην$ which has sprung from the original form $\tauύπτοιιν$ and the conjugation in μ ($\deltaιδοίην$)

431 In Latin, this double form of the personal termination, although in an inverted relation, makes itself observable in this, that where the fuller form *mi* stood, the termination, excepting in the cases of *sum* and *inquam*, has vanished altogether. On the other hand, the original termination *m*, by itself, has everywhere maintained itself. Hence, *amo, amabo*, but *amabam, eram, sum, amem*, as, in Sanscrit, *a-bhavam* and *āsam*, “I was,” *syām*, “I may be,” *kāmayéyam*, “I might love.” In the other persons an uniformity of terminations has crept in by the abrasion of the *i* of the primary forms, thus, *legis(i), legul(i), legunt(i)*, as *legas, legat, legant*.

432 In the Gothic, the aboriginal separation into the full and mutilated terminations makes itself principally conspicuous in that the terminations *ti* and *nti* of the primary forms have retained the *T* sound, because it was protected by a following vowel, but have lost the *i* on the other hand, the concluding *t* of the secondary forms,

as in the Greek has vanished hence for example *bair i th bair a nd* answering to भरति *bhar a ti* भरति *bhar a nti* (φερ ο ι τι) but *bair ai* like φερ ο ι answering to भरेत् *bhar e t* (from *bharait*) *fer a t* In the first person singular the full termination *mi* has in remarkable accordance with the Latin quite disappeared on the other hand the concluding *m* of the secondary forms has not indeed as in the Latin been retained unaltered but yet has kept its place in the solution into *u* (compare § 246) thus *bair a* answering to भरामि *bhar ā-mi* but *bair a u* (from *bairam* for *bairaim*)* answering to भरेयम् *bhar ey am fer a m* In the second person singular as in the Latin an identity between the primary and secondary forms has introduced itself since the first have lost the concluding *i* and the latter have not brought one from the Asiatic seat of their class hence *bair i s* answering to भरसि *bhar a si* and also *bair ai s* to भरेस् *bhar e s fer ā s* φερ ο ι σ

433 In the Old Slavonic the secondary forms have in the singular been compelled entirely to abandon the personal consonant (see § 255 l) on account of its being final hence in the imperative which is identical with the Sanscrit potential the Greek optative and Roman German conjunctive the second person singular ends with the modal vowel *i* and in the preterite answering to the Sanscrit Greek aorist the second and third persons have the same sound because the concluding *s* like *t* was necessarily dropped Compare in the preterite iterative the termination *me she me she* with the Sanscrit सीसे *sīs* सीत् *sit* On the other hand the primary forms give the expression of the second person singular with wonderful accuracy as *mi shi* or *ti si* and out of the *ti* of the third we have *r* and in the plural *sr* from *anti* We now proceed to a closer consideration of the personal signs

* Compare Vocalismus p 203

FIRST PERSON

434 The character of the first person is, in the singular as well as plural, in its original shape *m*, but in the dual the languages which possess a first dual person in the transitive active form have softened the *m* to *r*, as we have also found *ययम्* *rayam* for *मयम्* *mayam*, in the simple pronoun "we," and similar phenomena in several cognate languages. The full characteristic of the first person singular is, in the primary form of the transitive active, *mi*, and spreads itself, in Sanscrit and Zend, over all verbs without exception. In Greek, however, peculiarities of dialect excepted only over such as answer to the second chief Sanscrit conjugation, which embraces the classes two, three, five, seven, eight, and nine (§ 109), but altogether comprises but a small proportion of the verbs (about 200). The other Greek verbs have quite suppressed the personal termination, and their ω (omega), like the Latin *o*, answers to the Sanscrit *ā*, which, in forms like *bōdh-ā-mi*, "I know," *tud-ā-mi*, "I wound," belongs neither to the root nor the personal termination, but is the character of the class, which, when it consists of a short *a*, or of syllables ended by *a*, lengthens that letter before *m* and *v* followed by a vowel; hence, *bōdh-ā-mi*, *bōdh-ā-vas*, *bōdh-ā-mas*, in contrast to *bōdh-a-si*, *bōdh-a-ti*, *bōdh-a-thas*, *bōdh-a-tas*, *bōdh-a-tu*, *bōdh-a-nti*. The Greek has no participation in this lengthening, and makes $\tauέρπ-ο-μεν$ answer to the Sanscrit *tarp-ā-mas*. It is possible, however, that, in the singular, $\tauέρπ-ω-μι$ may have once stood, and if so, we might conjecture that this ω may have been shortened in the plural and dual (medial) by the influence of the increased weight of the terminations, of which more hereafter, thus, also, in the medio-passive. The supposed $\tauέρπ-ω-μι$ has, in effect, the same relation to $\tauέρπ-ο-μεν$ and $\tauέρπ-ο-μαι$, as $δίδω-μι$ to $δίδο-μεν$ and $δίδ-ο-μαι$. If, however, we prefer, which I should not, to

assume *τερπ ο μι* as the primitive form the length of *τερπω* may then be considered as a compensation for the loss of the termination. In any case the medial passive *μαι* which spreads itself over all classes of verbs proves that they all have had a *μι* in the active for *μαι* has sprung from *μι* as *σαι ται νται* from *σι τι ιτι* and without the presence either of a *τερπωμι* or a *τερπομι* we could have had no *τερπομαι*. With regard to the all prevalent conservation of the character of the first person in the medio passives the Greek maintains a conspicuous advantage over its Asiatic cognates which in the singular of the middle as well in the primary as in the secondary forms has suffered the *m* to vanish without leaving a trace. If *τερπω* be as it were amended from the Sanscrit form *tarp-d mi* the mutilated Sanscrit form *tarpé** may be in like manner brought back from the Greek *τερπ ο-μαι* to its original form *tarp-d mé* or *tarp a mé*.

435 We find in what has been said above a very remarkable confirmation of the maxim that the various members of the great family of language now under discussion must of necessity mutually illustrate and explain each other since the most perfect among them have been handed down to us uncorrupted in every part of their rich organism. For while the ending *μαι* is still extant in all its splendour in the Modern Greek passive the corresponding Sanscrit form lay in ruins at that period when the oldest existing sample of Indian literature the Vedās was composed the antiquated language of which has conveyed to us so many other remnants of the primæval type of the family. On the other hand Homer in all the variety of his present and future forms was compelled to forego the terminating *μι* which was the mother of his *μαι* which is the only existing termination in the Sanscrit and

* Such would be the form of *tarpami* in the middle voice in which however it is not used.

which to this day the Lithuanian utters in the following verbs

LITHUANIAN	SANSKRIT	GREEK
<i>esmi</i> , "I am,"	= <i>asmī</i> ,	ἐμί, εἰμί
<i>eimi</i> , "I go,"	= <i>émi</i> ,	εἶμι
<i>dūmi</i> , "I give,"	= <i>dadāmi</i> ,	δίδωμι
<i>dēmi</i> , "I lay,"	= <i>dudhāmi</i> ,	τίθημι
<i>stoumi</i> , "I stand,"	= <i>tishthāmi</i> ,	ἵστημι
<i>edmi</i> , "I eat,"	= <i>admi</i> ,	
<i>sēdmi</i> , "I sit,"	= <i>ni-shīdāmi</i> , "I sit down,"	. .
<i>giedmi</i> , "I sing,"	= <i>gadāmi</i> , "I say,"	
<i>gēlbi</i> , "I help,"*	= <i>kalpayāmi</i> , "make, prepare"†	
<i>sēigmi</i> , "I guard,"		. . .
<i>sāugmi</i> , "I preserve,"		. .
<i>miēgmi</i> , "I sleep,"		
<i>tiehmi</i> , "I leave,"	= <i>īahāmi</i> , "forsake"†	.

436 We must take into account that in all these verbs the termination *mi*, as in the Sanscrit second class (§ 109ⁿ 3) and in the verbs which answer to it, such as *φημί*, *εἶμι*, is combined directly with the root. The Old Slavonic also has rescued, in some verbs of this kind, which we would name the Archaic conjugation, the termination *mi*, not, indeed, in its original purity, but under the shape of *my*. Before this *my*, however, as also in the first person plural before *my*, and before the sibilant of the second person singular, a radical *d* is suppressed, which *d*, before terminations beginning with *t*, in analogy with the Zend and Greek (§ 102), passes into *s*†. Compare,

* *Kalpayāmi*, on which the Gothic root *halp*, "to help" (present *halpa*, preterite *halp*), is probably based, is, in all likelihood, akin to the root *kar* (*kri*), "to make."

† Compare p 441

‡ *Jad* alone forms an exception, that, in the second and third person dual

OLD SLAVONIC

ѣ ѡѣ <i>yeshny</i>	I am
ѡѣ ѡѣ <i>yemy</i>	I know
ѡѣ ѡѣ <i>yedyaty</i>	they know
ѡѣ <i>damy</i>	I give *
ѡѣ <i>dadyaty</i>	they give
ѡѣ <i>yamy</i>	I eat
ѡѣ <i>yodaty</i>	they eat

SANS CRIT

अस्मि <i>asmi</i>
वेदि <i>vidmi</i>
विदन्ति <i>vidanti</i>
ददामि <i>dadāmi</i>
ददन्ति <i>dadanti</i>
अस्मि <i>admi</i>
अदन्ति <i>adanti</i>

Thus also the compound *ѡѣ ѡѣ* *sn yemy* for *sn yamy* *comedo manduco* * and *ѡѣ ѡѣ* *imamy* I have. The Krinusch deserves special attention in respect of the first person singular as without exception it has preserved the personal *m* although with entire renunciation of the *i* for instance *delam* I labour thus in Polish in the first conjugation as Brandke has it *czytam* I read. In Old Slavonic however we find everywhere in the usual conjugation *e* and we have already remarked that we recognise in the latter part of this diphthong the melting of this personal sign *m* into a short *u* sound which with the preceding conjugation vowel has resolved itself into *e* as in Greek *τυπτοῦσι* from *τυπτοῖσι* (§ 200 *y*). In the same light is to be regarded the Lithuanian *u* in Mieleke's first and second conjugation compare *suku* I turn and *penu*

I feed with the plural *suk a me pen a me*. On the other hand in verbs like *laikan* I hold *yer-lau* I seek *myliu*

I love the *u* only belongs to the personal sign. It is otherwise with the Old High German *u* in Grimm's strong and first weak conjugation in these *u*s is a weakening of the Gothic *a* (Voethsmus p 227 ff) and this is itself a shorten

dual it inserts an *e* as a connecting vowel hence *jad e ta* in contrast to *das ta yes ta*. See *Kojitar's Glagolita*, p 93

* Is generally used with a future signification

† The Sanscrit preposition *am* (reek *a*) has usually lost the nasal but has preserved it in the above instances

ing of the Sanscrit *ā*, and so far corresponding to the Greek *ω* and Latin *o* (see § 434) Compare the Gothic *ban-a-*, Old High German *ban-u-* (*pru*), with भ्रमि *bhan-ā-mi* फेर-ω-(μ)*fer-a* The only verb which, in Gothic, has preserved a remnant of the termination *μ*, is *im*, "I am," = अस्मि *asmi*, &c In High German, however, the remains of this old termination are more numerous in our German *bin* it has to this day rescued itself from total suppression The Old High German form is *bin*, or *pim*, a contraction of the Sanscrit *bhavāmi*, the *v* of which reappears in the shape of *r* in the plural *birumēs* Besides these, the personal sign in Old High German fastens on some other isolated verbs, as on *gām*, "I go," = गमि *gaṃmi*, *βίβημι* (p 111), *stām*, "I stand," = स्तहि *tishthāmi*, Zend *𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌* *hustāmi*, Greek *ἵστημι* (p 111), *tuom*, "I do," = Sanscrit दधामि *dadhāmi*, "I place," Greek *τίθημι* बिदधामि *vi-dadhāmi*, "I make", and, further, on those classes of verbs which exhibit the Sanscrit form *aya* in the shape of *ῑ* or *ῑ̇* (Grimm's second and third conjugations of the weak form, see § 109² 6) Hence *habēm* (Gothic *haba*), *damuōm*, and *phlanzōm*, are more perfect than the corresponding Latin forms *habeo*, *damno*, *planto* Yet it is only the oldest monuments which exhibit the *m* termination the more modern substitute *n*

437 In the secondary forms the expression of the first person singular, in Sanscrit and Zend, is terminated by *m* without a vowel, and this mutilated ending, which has maintained itself in Latin in preference to the fuller *mi* (§ 431), has been forced in Greek, by a universal law of sound, to become *ν*, just as we have seen, in the Old High German, the final *m* of the most ancient examples degenerate into *n* Compare *ἐτερεπ-ο-ν* with *atarp-a-m*, *ἐδίδω-ν* and *ἔδω-ν* with *adadā-m* and *adā-m*, and further, *δίδο-ῖν* and *δο-ῖν* with *dadh-yām* and *dē-yām* In the first Greek aorist the personal sign has vanished, hence, *ἐδίδεα* contrasted with अदिक्ष *adiksham* The older *ἐδίδεαν*, from

a still older form *ēdciṣam* presents itself however is out of the resulting medial form *cōdciṣam* η. With respect to the Gothic *u* for *m* we refer the reader to § 132

Remark —If we have in the above dissected *atarp a m* after the fashion of the Greek *ἐτεπ ο ι* we must yet observe that according to the Indian grammarians the full termination of the first person singular of the secondary form is not a simple *m* but *am* it would stand accordingly *atarpam* for *atorpam* from *atarp-a om* and we should have to assume an elision of the intermediate syllable *a*. In fact we find the termination *am* in places where the *a* cannot as in *atarp a m* *anas-ya ni adora-ya m* be assigned to the class characters (§ 109 1 2 6) for we form for instance out of *i go* *dy am* not *di m* I went from *brā* speak *abrav-am* or *abrur-am* not *obrō m* I spoke and from the syllables *nu* and *u* which are appended to the roots of the fifth and eighth class (§ 109 1) in the special tenses spring not *nō m* *ō m* as we might expect from the present *nō mi* *ō mi* but **natom oiam*, and thus for instance we find *अस्त्रिनाम* *astrinaiam* plural *अस्त्रिनाम* *astrinūma* answering to *εστροπιυι εστροπυυμι*. As the second person in Sanscrit has a simple *s* the third a simple *t* for its sign and for instance *astri no s astri nōt* answer to the Gr *εστροπ ιυ σ εστροπ ιυ(τ)* from thence as well as from the fact that the Greek also in the first person has a simple *i* we may deduce that the *a* of *astrinaiom* is inorganic and imported from the first conjugation just as in Greek we find for *εστροπιυ υ* also *εστροπιυ ο υ* and so in the third person together with *εστροπυυ* also *εστροπυυ ε* to which a Sanscrit *astrinav-a t* would correspond. The verbs which unite the personal terminations immediately with roots ending in consonants may have particularly favoured the introduction of an *a* into the first person thus for instance to the present *vedmi* I know no *aiōdm* could be opposed the personal character must have vanished entirely—as in the second and third person where instead of

avêt-s, *avêt-t*, by §. 94 *avêt* (for *avéd*) is used* or else the aid of an intermediate vowel must have been sought, as the nominal bases terminating in a consonant use *am* instead of simple *m*, from whence this termination has passed also over to monosyllabic bases terminating with a vowel, so that *nâv-am*, for *nâum*, and *bhruv-am* for *bhrûm*, have the same relation to the Greek *ναῦ-ν*, *ὀφρῦ-ν*, as we have seen *astimav-am* (for *astimôm*) bear to *ἄστρονῦ-ν*. In any case, however, the *a* has acquired a firm establishment in the first person singular of the secondary forms, and we, perhaps, practically as well as theoretically, best lay down the rule, that where *a* or *â* does not precede the terminating *m* as the property either of a class, a mood, or a root, that letter is introduced hence we find *atarp-a-m*, "*placabam*," *adadâ-m*, "*dabam*," *ayâ-m*, "*ibam*" (from the root *yâ*), *ayu-nâ-m*, "*ligabam*," (cl 9 see § 109⁵), *dadyâ-m*, "*dem*", but also *astri-nav-am*, "*sternebam*," for *astri-nô-m*, and *tarp-êy-am*, "*placem*" (§ 43), for *tarpêm*, *tishthê-y-am*, "*stem*," for *tisht'ê-m*, which last would accord more closely with *tishthês*, "*stês*", *tishthêt*, "*stet*", *tishthêma*, "*stêmus*", *tishthêla*, "*stêls*"

438 In the Gothic, as we have before remarked (§ 432), the *m* of the secondary forms has resolved itself into *u*. This termination, however, has entirely vanished from the Old High German, with the exception of a solitary example, which has preserved the original *m* in preference to the Gothic *u*, namely, *lîrnem*, "*discam*," in *Keio*. In the Lithuanian, both the mutilated *m* and the fuller ending *mi* have degenerated into *u*, and therefore just as *laikau*, "*I hold*," is related to the to be presupposed *laikam* from *laikami*, so is *buwau* to the Sanscrit *a-bhavam*, "*I was*" With respect to the Slavonic, I may refer the reader to what has been

* In the second person the form *avê-s* also holds good with the radical consonant suppressed and the termination retained, as in the Latin nominative *pe-s* for *ped-s*

said generally on the singular secondary terminations and to what will follow hereafter on the preterite in particular

439 With regard to the origin of the termination of the first person I consider *mi* to be a weakened form of the syllable *ma* (compare p 102) which in Sanscrit and Zend lies at the foundation of the oblique case of the simple pronoun as its theme In the word *dadami* *mi* has the same relation to the *ma* in which it originates as the Latin *i* bears in compounds like *tubercin*(*unis*) to the true radical form *CAN* The secondary form rests on a further weakening of *mi* to *m* which if it be of most remote antiquity as would appear from its striking accordance with the sister languages of Europe still does not belong to those times when the organization of the language was yet flourishing in all its parts and in full vigour I do not at least believe that in the youth of our family of languages there was already a double series of personal terminations but I entertain the conjecture that in the course of time the terminations underwent a polishing process in those places where an accession to the anterior part (in the augment preterites) or an insertion into the interior (in the potential or optative) had given greater occasion for such a process * The gradual prevalence of the mutilated terminations is illustrated by the fact that in Latin all the plurals end in *mus* in Greek in *μεν* (*μες*) while in Sanscrit the corresponding form *मस* *mas* only remains in the primary forms and even in these shews itself not unfrequently in the mutilated form *ma* which in the secondary terminations has become the rule hence we have indeed *tarp a mas* *sarp ā mas* and occasionally *tarp ā ma* &c corresponding to *τεπν ο μεσ* *serp-i mus* (§ 209 1) but constantly *atarp ā ma* *asarp ā ma* contrasted with *ερεπν ο μες* *serpebamus* constantly *ds-ma* with

* Compare Voculismus Rem 10

ῥ(σ)-μες, *erāmus*, *dadyā-ma* with *διδόῃ-μες*, and *tshthē-ma* with *stēmus*. To pass, however, to the explanation of the termination *mas*, we might conjecture that it should be divided into *m-as*, that the *m* should stand as theme, but the *as* as a plural nominative termination, for *mas* ends like 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *padas*, *μες* like *πόδες*, and the personal endings always express a nominative relation. It is, however, also possible that the *s* of *mas* rests on the same principle as the *s* of the Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *yūs*, "you," for *yūsmē*, and the *s* of the Sanscrit *nas*, *vas*, and Latin *nos*, *vos**. Then would 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *ad-mas* signify "I and they eat," as we have seen that 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *a-smē* was considered a copulative compound with the sense of "I and they" (§ 333). In this view the Vēda termination *masi*, on which rests the Zend *mahu* for instance, 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *dadmasi*, 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *dadēmahu*, "we give" would appear to be a mutilation and weakening of the dependent pronoun *sma*, or the *i* of *masi* as a mutilation of *i* (= *a + i*), and *masi* (for *masē*) would thus join itself to *asmi* for *masmi*. The independent *asmē* would have lost the first, and the termination *masi* the second *m*. If, however, the first supposition be the true one, the *i* of *masi* might be compared with the Greek demonstrative *i*, omitting reference to the difference of quantity.

* §§ 335 336 337

† As in the expression "we" other companions are more usually attributed to the *I* than the person or persons addressed, to whom, in fact, things are usually recounted in which they have had no share, and as moreover, for the idea "we two," in its simple use, a special form is provided, which perhaps existed before other duals, it seems to me little likely that Pott's conjecture is correct, that the syllable *mas* of the first person plural properly expressed "I and thou", and that thus, through the *s*, the pronoun of the second person was expressed, in the same form in which it appears in the singular of the verb, which in any case we are obliged to derive from the *t* of *tvam*, since, by the explanation above, the *s* is originally given.

440 The Old High German exhibits the first person plural in the very full and perfect shape *mēs* as well in the primary as in the secondary forms—*i e* in the indicative and conjunctive—while the Gothic has in the one merely *m* in the other *ma*. In the Lithuanian we find everywhere *me* in the Carniolan *mo* for instance *delamo*

we labour but the Old Slavonic has a naked *m* or *my*—the latter however only in a few verbs which have in the singular *my* (p 669) for instance *ѣмѣю my* we eat = *ѣдем ad mas* *ѣмѣете my* we know = *ѣдим ad mas*. This Slavonic *my* for *ē e* or *o o* which according to § 233 *a* we might expect would answer to the Sanskrit *अम* I believe produced by the euphonic influence of the original termination of the form *i* (compare § 21). It is more difficult to account for the long *e* in Old High German unless Grass (I 21) be right in his conjecture that the termination *mēs* may rest upon the termination peculiar to the Vedas *man*. We should then have to assume either that the *i* which had been dropped from the termination had been replaced by the lengthening of the antecedent vowel (thus *mēs* for *māḥ* as in Gothic *ē* = *आ* § 69) or that the *i* had fallen back into the preceding syllable for out of *ai* we have in Old High German as in Sanskrit *ē*. In Gothic we may be surprised that the more mutilated termination *m* should answer to the fuller Sanskrit termination *म्* *mas* while the shorter *ma* of the secondary forms has remained unaltered thus *hair-a m* *ferimus* contrasted with *hair ā ma* and *hair ai ma* *feramus* answering to *भारै मा* *bhar ē ma*. Probably the diphthong *ai* and in the preterite conjunctive the long *i* (written *ei* as in *bar ei ma*) was found better able to bear the weight of the personal termination after the same principle by which the reduplication syllable of the preterite in the Gothic has only maintained itself in the long syllabic roots but has perished in the short. We must consider that the

Sanscrit, in the reduplicated preterite has, in like manner, न *ma*, not नम् *mas*; but the Gothic, in this place, does not share the termination *ma* with the Sanscrit, but as I believe, for the sake of the shortness of the antecedent vowel has a simple *m*, hence, for instance, *bund-u-m*, "we bound," answering to बबन्ध-म *babandh-i-ma*

441 In the dual, the Sanscrit has *va* in the primary forms, and *va* in the secondary, in analogy with the plural *mas*, *ma*. The difference between the dual and the plural is, however, so far an accidental one, in that, as we have before observed (§ 431), the dual *v* is a corruption of *m*. This difference is, nevertheless, of remote antiquity, and existed before the individualization of the German, Lithuanian, and Slavonic, which all participate in this peculiar dual form. The Lithuanian universally has *ua*, the Old Slavonic, together with *na* *ra*, an inorganic *ъ* *vy* (p 417) but the Gothic has three forms, and the most perfect in the conjunctive, where, for instance, *bair-a-i-va* has the same relation to भैव *bhai-ê-va*, as, in the plural, *bair-a-ma* to भैव *bhai-ê-ma*. The reason why the dual ending, in this position, has maintained itself most completely, plainly lies, as in the case of the plural, in the antecedent diphthong, which has felt itself strong enough to bear the syllable *va*. In the indicative present, however, the long *â* which, in the Sanscrit *bhai-â-vas*, precedes the personal termination, has, in the Gothic, shortened itself, in all probability, as, in the plural, *bair-a-m*, and, in the Greek, φέρ-ο *μcs*, contrasted with *bhai-â-mas* then, however, *v* has permitted itself to be extinguished, and out of *bai-a(v)as*, by a union of both the vowels, *bai ôs* has been generated, as *o*, in Gothic, is the long form of *a* (§ 69), and hence, in the nominative plural masculine of the *a* class, in like manner *ôs* is produced out of *a + as*, so that, for instance, *vai ôs*, "men," answers to the Sanscrit *vâ ôs*, "heroes" (out of *vâ a-as*). In the indicative preterite we

cannot expect to meet with *as* *ns* this tense has for its connecting vowel not *a* but *u*, nor can we expect to meet with *u* *ia* since *ia* like the plural *ma* can be borne only by diphthongs or long vowels. The next in turn is *u* *i* as analogous to the plural *u* *m*. At the end of a word however *v* is subject where preceded by a short vowel to be changed into *u*. Hence for instance *thuu* *ser* *ium* (for *thiv*) from the base *TIIIIA* and thus also from *u* *i* first *u* *u* and next long *ā* may have been generated by the compression of the two short vowels into one long. I therefore hold the *n* of *magu* we two *er* *siyu* we two are the only evidence for the form under discussion* to be long and write *magu* *siyu* as contractions of *magu* *u* *siyu* *u* from *mag* *u* *r* *siy* *u* *r*. Should however the *u* of this termination be neither long nor the modern contraction of an originally long *u* it would then be identical with that which stands as a connecting vowel in *mag* *u* *ts* *mag* *u* *m* or it would be explainable as *magu* from *magia* *siyu* from *siyia*. Independently however of the phonetic impossibility of the last mentioned form the immediate annexation of the personal ending to the root is incredible because the first dual person would thus present a contrast scarcely to be justified to the second and to all those of the plural as well as to the most ancient practice of this tense. In Zend I know no example of the first person dual.

412 Of the medial terminations I shall treat particularly hereafter. The following is a summary view of the points of comparison we have obtained for the first person of the transitive active form

* As *n* *ug* is throughout inflected as a preterite and as the verb substantive in both plurals Grimm has certainly with justice deduced the form of the first dual person of all the preterites from the foregoing instances.

SINGULAR

SANSKRIT	ZEND	GREEK	LATIN	GERMAN	ITHI	OLD SCIAV
<i>tishthānu,</i>	<i>histāmi,</i>	ἵστημι,	<i>sto,</i>	* <i>stām,</i>	<i>stouma,</i>	<i>stoyū</i> ¹
<i>dadānu,</i>	<i>dadhāmi,</i> ²	δίδωμι,	<i>do,</i>		<i>dāmi,</i>	<i>damy</i>
<i>asm,</i>	<i>ahmi,</i>	ἐμμί,	<i>sum,</i>	<i>um,</i>	<i>esmi,</i>	<i>yesm</i>
<i>bharāmi,</i>	<i>barāmi,</i>	φέρω,	<i>fero,</i>	<i>baua,</i>		
<i>vahāmi,</i>	<i>vazāmi,</i>	έχω, ³	<i>veho,</i>	<i>viga,⁴</i>	<i>uezū,¹</i>	<i>vezū</i>
<i>tishthēyam,</i>		ἵσταίνην,	<i>stemi,</i>			
<i>dadyām,</i>	<i>daidhyami,</i> ⁵	διδοίην,	<i>dem,</i>			
<i>(a)syām,</i>	<i>hyami</i> [?]	ἐ(σ)ίην,	<i>semi,</i>	<i>syau,</i>		
<i>bharēyam,</i>		(φέρειν), ⁶	<i>feram,</i>	<i>bauau,</i>		
<i>avaham,</i>	<i>vazēm,</i>	εἶχον,	<i>vehcbam,</i>		<i>ueziau,</i>	

DUAL

<i>tishthāvas,</i>					<i>stouuā,</i>	<i>stoua</i>
<i>dadvas,</i>					<i>dādaiva,</i> ⁷	<i>dadeva</i>
<i>bharāvas,</i>				<i>baurōs,</i>		
<i>vahāvas,</i>				<i>vigos,</i>	<i>wezāua,</i>	<i>vezia</i>
<i>bharēva,</i>				<i>bauauva,</i> ⁸		
<i>vahēva,</i>				<i>vigaiva,</i> ⁸		<i>vezyeua</i> ⁹
<i>avahāva,</i>					<i>uezīua,</i> ⁰	

PLURAL

<i>tishthāmas,</i>		ἵσταμεν,	<i>stamus,</i>	* <i>stāmēs,</i>	<i>stouimi,</i>	<i>stoin</i>
<i>tishthāmasi,</i> ¹¹	<i>histāmahi,</i>					
<i>dadmas,</i>		δίδομεν,	<i>damus,</i>		<i>dāidame,</i> ⁷	<i>damy</i> ¹²
<i>dadmasi,</i> ¹¹	<i>dadēmahi,</i>					
<i>bharāmas,</i>		φέρομεν,	<i>ferimus,</i>	<i>bauam,</i>		
<i>bharāmasi,</i> ¹¹	<i>barāmahi,</i>					
<i>vahāmas,</i>		έχομεν,	<i>vehimus,</i>	<i>vigam,</i>	<i>uezami,</i>	<i>vezom</i>
<i>vahāmasi,</i> ¹¹	<i>vazāmahi,</i>					
<i>tishthēnia,</i>	<i>histāēma,</i>	ἵσταίμεν,	<i>stēmus,</i>			<i>stoin</i>
<i>dadyāma,</i>	<i>daidhyāma,</i>	διδοίμεν,	<i>dēmus,</i>			<i>daschdymy,</i> ¹³
<i>bharēma,</i>	<i>baraēma,</i>	φέροιμεν,	<i>ferāmus,</i>	<i>bauraima,</i> ¹⁴		
<i>vahūma,</i>	<i>vazaēma,</i>	έχοιμεν,	<i>vehāmus,</i>	<i>vigauma,</i> ¹¹		<i>vezym</i> ⁹
<i>avahāma,</i>	<i>vazāma</i> [?]	εἶχομεν,	<i>vehcbamus,</i>		<i>wezīme,</i> ¹⁰	

¹ See § 255 g ² See § 39 ³ If ὄχος, φοι *Fóchos*, be related to έχω, then έχω also stands for *Féχω*, and belongs to *vahāmi* and *veho*. The signification, also, of movement in the compounds ἀνέχω, διέχω, ενέχω, &c, is plainly perceivable, then the Sanscrit root *vah* signifies,

* *Stam* and *etāmēs* belong to the Old High German, the other forms to the Gothic.

also 'to bear' *tragen* from which we easily arrive at the idea of having. In the Greek however it seems that in this verb two roots of distinct origin have intermixed themselves namely $\text{ΕΛ} = \text{वह् } \text{tah}$ and $\Sigma\text{VE} (\Sigma\text{XH}) = \text{सह } \text{shh}$ to bear with transposition of the root vowel, as in $\beta\beta\lambda\eta$ as related to ΒΙΑ . If however χ and $\sigma\chi\eta\sigma\omega$ belong to one root the first must then stand for $\sigma\chi\omega$ with the loss of the σ . We must not however consider the spiritus asper of $\xi\omega$ and of similar forms as a substitute for the σ as it is very satisfactorily explained by § 104.

⁴ In p 213 of my Glossary I have made the Sanscrit *tah* correspond to the Gothic *tagyan* to set in motion but this *tagya* belongs like the Lithuanian *tax š yu* to the causal *tahayami* (§ 109 G) the primitive of *tagya* has weakened in the present the root vowel to *i* (p 106) and only appears in connection with the prepositional *ga* (*ga vi ga gi tag*). In the Lithuanian the *a* of *wa-rogu* I ride in a carriage rests on the long *a* of the Sanscrit *tah yami* the *e* of *ucz* on the short *a* of *tah mi*.

I thought at the beginning of the *Vindidad*, (Olshausen's edition,) the form *dadyanam* belong to the Sanscrit root *dhā* to place—which if not by itself at least in conjunction with *vi* has the meaning to make to create—still we deduce thus much from *dadyanam* that it is also derivable from *dhā* to give unless the *y* has exercised no aspirating power on the antecedent *d* and thus would necessarily come *dadyann*. On the roots $\text{अग da} = \text{दा } dā$ to give and $\text{अग da} = \text{धा } dhā$ to place compare Bui nouf's pregnant Note 217 to the *Yacna* (p 336) and Fr Windischmann's excellent critique in the *Jena Literar Zeit* July 1834 p 143.

⁶ See § 430. ⁷ Or without reduplication, *duwa* as the analogous of the singular *dumi* together with which also a redoubled form but wanting the *mi* termination is extant. See § 441. See § 455 e.

¹ See Mielcke p 100 18. ² Veda dialect see § 439. ³ See § 440. ⁴ Euphonic for *dadyami* see Dobrowsky pp 39 and 639.

¹¹ See §§ 440, 441.

SECOND PERSON

443 The Sanscrit pronominal base *tā* or *tvē* (§ 326) has in its connection with verbal themes split itself into various forms the *t* either remaining unaltered or being modified to *th* or *dh* or—as in Greek $\sigma\upsilon$ has degenerated into *s*—the *v* has either been maintained or removed the *a* has either remained unaltered or been weakened to *i* or altogether displaced. The complete

pronominal form shews itself in the middle voice, as this affects weightier terminations, and therefore has guarded more carefully against the mutilation of the pronoun, upon the same principle as that in which, in Sanscrit, the verbal forms which take Guna admit no regular mutilations of the roots. For it is natural that a form which loves strengthening should at least, under circumstances which prevent that process, repudiate the contrary extreme of mutilation. Hence we say, for example, *asmī*, "I am," with the root undiminished, because the latter would accept Guna in the singular, if *a* would admit of Guna,* but we say, in the dual *śas*, in the plural *śmas*, in the potential *śyām*, because the two plural numbers and the entire potential refuse all Guna exaltation, and hence, consistently, all radical mutilation. After the same principle, the pronoun of the second person shews itself in its most complete shape in the

* Upon Guna and Vriddhi see §§ 26-29. I may here append, in justification of § 29, what I have already indicated in my *Vocalismus* (p. 18), that I no longer seek the reason why *a* is incapable of Guna, although it may be compounded into long *ā* with an antecedent *a*, in the supposition that Guna and Vriddhi were identical in the case of *a*—for *a+a*, as well as *ā+a*, give *ā*—but in this, that *a*, as the weightiest vowel, in most of the cases in which *i* and *u* receive Guna, is sufficient of itself, and hence receives no increment, according to the same principle by which the long vowels *ī* and *ū* in most places remain unaltered where an *a* precedes *i* or *u* (Gramm. Crit. § 34). It is, moreover, only an opinion of the grammarians, that *a* has no Guna: the fact is, that *a* in the Guna, as in the Vriddhi degree, becomes *ā*, but on account of its weight seldom uses this capability. When however, this happens, *i* and *u* for the most part, in the same situation, have only Guna, for instance, *bībhēda*, "he clave," from *bhid*, together with *jagāma*, "he went," from *gam*. It is, however, natural, that where so great an elevation is required as that *i* and *u* become, not *ē*, *ō* ($=a+i$, $a+u$), but *āi*, *āu*, in such a case *a* should exert the only power of elevation of which it is capable: hence, for instance, we have *mānava*, "descendant of Manu," from *manu*, as *śāna* from *śiva*, and *kāuavya* from *kuru*.

middle voice namely in the plural where the primary forms end in *dhev'* and the secondary in *dheam* and in the imperative singular where the termination *am* has indeed allowed the *T* sound to vanish into *x* but has yet preserved the *r* of *tiam* thou. As we shall have hereafter to consider the medial forms in particular we now turn to the transitive active form. This has nowhere completely preserved the semi vowel of the base *tea* yet I believe I recognise a remnant of it in the *th* which stands in the primary forms as well in the dual as in the plural and in the reduplicated preterite also in the singular. On the other hand the secondary forms as they generally have blunter terminations so also they have in the two plurals the pure tenuis hence for instance *tishthē tu īstāntē* opposed to *tishtha tha īstare* and in the dual *tishthētām īstāntōi* opposed to *tishthalas īstaroī*. We see from this that in Sanscrit the aspirates are heavier than the tenues or the medials for they are the union of the full tenuis or medial with an audible *h* (§ 1^o) and *tishtha* must then be pronounced *tisht hat-ha* and I think that I recognise in the *h* of the termination the dying breath of the *t* of *tiam*.

111. The above examples shew that the full termination of the second person in the dual present is *thas* and in the plural *tha* we have however seen the dual in the nominative arise from the strengthening of the plural terminations (§ 206). As however the personal terminations being pronominal stand in the closest connection with the noun it might be assumed that the second person plural in the verb was once *thas* and that the dual termination *thās* had developed itself from this but that in the lapse of time the *r* had escaped from the *thas* and the long vowel from the dual *thās*. We must consider that even in the first person the *r* of *may* has but a precarious tenure as even in the primary forms we often meet with *ma*. If

however, in the second person plural, *thas* originally stood, the Latin *tis* corresponds well to it, and it would confirm Thiersch's conjecture, derived from the hiatus, that in Homer, instead of $\tau\epsilon$ the termination $\tau\epsilon\sigma$ may have stood as analogous to $\mu\epsilon\sigma$ (Third Edition, § 163) As to the origin of the *s* of the termination *thas*, it is without doubt identical with that of *mas* in the first person it is thus either to be divided as *th-as*, and *as* to be explained as a plural nominative termination, or the *s* of *tha-s* is a remnant of the dependent pronoun *sma* (§ 439), as also, in an isolated situation, *yu-shmé*, "yon," stands approximate to *a-smé*, "we" If the latter assumption be correct, possibly in the *m* of the secondary dual termination *tam* we may recognise the second consonant of *sma*; so that this dependent pronoun has suffered a twofold mutilation, surrendering at one time its *m*, at another its *s* In this respect we may recur to a similar relation in the Lithuanian dual genitives *mumû*, *yumû*, opposed to the plural locatives *musûse*, *yusûse* (§ 176) As, however, the secondary forms, by rule, are deduced by mutilation from the primary, we might still—whether the first or the second theory be the true one of the termination *thas*—deduce the duller *m* from the heavier concluding *s*, as also in Greek, in the primary forms, we find $\tau\omicron\nu$, from $\chi\sigma$ *thas*; as, in the first person, $\mu\epsilon\nu$ from *mas*, $\mu\epsilon\varsigma$, and, in the Prakrit, $\tilde{h}in$ from the Sanscrit $भिस्$ *bhis* (§ 97) Thus, also, may the dual case-termination भ्याम् *bhyâm* have arisen from the plural *bhyas* originally by a mere lengthening of the vowel (see § 215), but later the concluding *s* may have degenerated into *m*

445. While the Greek already, in the primary form, has allowed the *s* of the dual ending *thas* to degenerate into *v*, in the Gothic the ancient *s* has spread itself over primary and secondary forms, and we are able to deduce from this a new proof, that where, in Sanscrit, in the second

person dual a nasal shews itself this did not arise out of *s* till after the separation of languages. The *a* which preceded the *s* has however escaped from the Gothic and in fact in pursuance of an universal law by which *a* before a terminating *s* of a polysyllable is either entirely extinguished or weakened to *i*. The first of these alternatives has occurred and thus *ts* answers to the Sanscrit *thas* as in the nominative singular of the bases in *a* *ulfs* answers to the Sanscrit *vrīḥas* and Lithuanian *vilkas*. Compare *bair a ts* with भयस् *bar a thas* φερ ε-τον and further *bair ai ts* with भयेत् *bhar é tam* φερ οι-τον. The Slavonian has been compelled according to § 220 1 to give up the terminating consonant of the termination in question, the Lithuanian has been inclined to do so both in fact make *ta* correspond to the चस् *thas* of the Sanscrit primary forms as well as to the तम् *tam* of the secondary. Compare the Slavonic दा-та *das ta* (see § 436) the Lithuanian *dus ta* or *duda ta* you two give with दयस् *dat thas* δίδο τον दा-и-да-та *dashdy ta** you two should give दद्यु-तम् *dadyu tam* δίδου-τον and Lithuanian *dudo-ta* you two give with а-да-т-а *adat tam* εδίδο τον

416 In the Zend I know no example of the second dual person but that of the plural runs as in the Sanscrit primary forms अथा† and in the secondary अथ ता. The Greek Latin and Slavonic have everywhere τε τε te the Latin has in the imperative alone weakened its *tis* to *te*

* § 44° Dobrowsky does not cite any dual it is plain however from the plural *daschdyte* that the dual if it be used cannot sound otherwise than as given in the text

† In the Zend we might explain the aspiration according to § 47 as a remaining effect of the earlier *v* as however in Sanscrit the semi vowel is entirely free from this influence we prefer for both languages the conjecture put forward p 612 that the *h* contained in *th* is the real representative of the *v*

(§. 444) The Gothic has everywhere *th*, with the terminating vowel polished away this *th* is, however, in my opinion, neither to be identified with the Sanscrit-Zend *th* of the primary forms, nor to be explained by virtue of the usual law of displacement by which *th* is required for the older *t*, but very probably the Gothic personal termination, before it lost the end vowel, was *da* The Gothic, in fact, affects, in grammatical terminations, or suffixes between two vowels, a *d* for the original *t*, but willingly converts this *d*, after the suppression of the concluding vowel, into *th* (see § 91) On the Gothic *d* here mentioned rests also the High German *t* (§ 87), by a displacement which has thus brought back the original tenuis hence we find, for instance, Old High German, *ueq-a-t*, answering to the Latin *veh-i-tis*, Greek *ἔχ-ε-τε* (p 618³), Lithuanian *wež-a-tė*, Old Slavonic *вѣзѣ-те* *vež-e-te*, Sanscrit *वह-अ-था* *vah-a-tha*, Zend *𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀* *vaz-a-tha*, and presupposing in Gothic an older *vigd* for *vigth*

447 We now turn to the singular The primary forms have here, in Sanscrit, the termination *सि* *si*, and the secondary only *स्* *s* Out of *si*, however, under certain conditions, frequently comes *shu* (§ 21), which has also been preserved in the Zend, which has changed the original *si* to *hi*, as *𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀* *bavahi* and *𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀* *ahi*, “thou art,” opposed to *𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀* *bhavasi*, *𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀* *asi* (for *as-si*), but *𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀* *hēvēnūshu*, “thou makest,” opposed to *𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀* *kīnōshu*, as *kīu*, according to the fifth class (§ 109⁴), would form In the secondary forms, according to § 56^b, the concluding sibilant, with a preceding *a*, has become *𐬵* *ō*, and, with *au* *āō*, but after other vowels has remained, hence *𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀* *frašrāvayō*, “thou spakest,” opposed to *𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀* *prāśīārayas*, but *𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀* *mraōs*,* “thou spakest,” opposed to *𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀* *abnos*,

* I write *𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀* purposely, and render *𐬵* by *ō*, because I now find myself compelled to adopt the remarks of Burnouf, founded on the best

for which irregularly *अब्रवीस* *abravis* (Gramm Crit § 352) Among the European cognate languages the Old Slavonic takes decided precedence for the fidelity and consistency with which it has preserved the primary termination *si* or *shi* and so distributed them that the first has remained in the archaic conjugation the latter in all the others I

and oldest manuscripts (Yagna, pp lvi lviii) that *𑀓* as well as *𑀔* stands for the Sanscrit *चो* the first however only for the initial and medial and always accompanied by the new Guna (§ 26)—thus always *𑀓𑀔* for an initial and medial *चो*—and the latter only for a terminating *चो* and without the appendage of *𑀔* as also before *𑀔𑀔* *𑀔* at the end of a word no *𑀔* is inserted As a medial letter *𑀔* appears sometimes as the representative of the Sanscrit *च* *a* and is then produced by the influence either of an antecedent *o* or *u* (*𑀓𑀔𑀔𑀔* *ubbyo* for *उभयोस्* *ublay s* p 217) or it represents in the diphthong *𑀓𑀔* *oi* the *a* element of the Sanscrit *ए* (= *a + i*) As however *𑀔* in the purest texts prefers a penultimate position it would seem that in point of origin it is the solution of the syllable *चस्* *as* as this termination syllable in Sanscrit becomes *o* only before sonants in Zend always (§ 56^b) Yet I do not believe that it has been the intention of the Zend speech or writing to distinguish the Guna *चो* *o* the *o* which springs from *उ* *u* with *a* inserted before it from that which springs from *चस्* *as* by *o* *i* *ation* of the *s* to *u* for each *o* consists of *a + u* and upon the value and the pronunciation the question whether the *u* or the *o* element had preceence can have no influence or whether an *a* was thrust before the *u* or a *u* after the *a* The position of a vowel in a word may however well have an influence on its value and it is conceivable that the concluding *𑀓* kept pure from the Guna *a* appeared more important than that which at the beginning or middle of a word received the accession of an *a* If the crude forms in *u* in Zend as in Sanscrit had Guna in the vocative (§ 205) the concluding Guna *चो* would also as I believe be represented in Zend by *𑀔* and not by *𑀓𑀔* I can however as it is discover no reason why a concluding *चो* in Sanscrit produced by Guna out of *u* should be represented in Zend in the one way or the other

subjoin the verbs of the archaic conjugation, with several examples of the more usual, for comparison with the Sanscrit

OLD SLAVONIC

SANSKRIT

ЕСТЬ <i>yesī</i> , "es,"	असि <i>asi</i>
ДАСТЬ <i>dasī</i> , ¹ "das,"	ददासि <i>dadāsi</i>
ВѢСТЬ <i>vyesī</i> , ¹ "novisti,"	वेत्ति <i>vēti</i>
ПИЮЩИ <i>pieshi</i> , "bibis,"	पिबसि <i>pibasi</i> ²
ЧЕПЮЩИ <i>chreshi</i> , "quiescis,"	जेहे <i>śēshē</i>
СМѢЮЩИ <i>smeyeshi</i> (<i>sya</i>), "vides,"	स्मयसे <i>smayase</i> ³
ВЪЮЩИ <i>vyeyeshi</i> , "flas,"	वासि <i>vāsi</i>
ЗНАЮЩИ <i>znayeshi</i> , "novisti,"	जानासि <i>jānāsi</i> ⁴
ВОЮЩИ <i>boishi</i> (<i>sya</i>), "times,"	बिभेसि <i>bibhēshi</i>
ДѢЮЩИ <i>dyeyeshi</i> , "facis,"	दधासि <i>dadhāsi</i> ⁵
ЖИВЕЮЩИ <i>shiveshi</i> , "vivis,"	जीवसि <i>jīvasi</i>
ПАДЕЮЩИ <i>padeshi</i> , "cadis,"	पतसि <i>patasi</i>
ВЕЗЮЩИ <i>vezeshi</i> , "vehis,"	वहसि <i>vahasi</i>
СПИЮЩИ <i>spishi</i> , "dormis,"	स्वपिषि <i>svapishi</i>
РЕЧЕЮЩИ <i>recheshi</i> , "dicis,"	वचसि <i>vachasi</i> ⁶
ТЪМЪЮЩИ <i>tryaseshi</i> (<i>sya</i>), "temis,"	त्रससि <i>trāsasi</i>
ВЪДЕЮЩИ <i>byedeshi</i> , "affligis,"	विध्यसि <i>vidhyasi</i>
НЕСЕЮЩИ <i>neseshi</i> , "fers,"	नयसि <i>nayasi</i> ⁷
ЗОВЕЮЩИ <i>zobeshi</i> , "vocas," ⁸	ह्वयसि <i>hwayasi</i>
ДЕРЕЮЩИ <i>dereshi</i> , "excoris,"	दद्यासि <i>dīnāsi</i> , "laceras" ⁹
ПРОШЮЩИ <i>proshishi</i> , "precaris,"	पृच्छसि <i>pṛichchasi</i> , "interrogas" ¹⁰
ГАДИЮЩИ <i>gadishi</i> , "vituperas,"	गदसि <i>gadasī</i> , "loqueris"
СЛЫШИЮЩИ <i>slyshishi</i> , "audis,"	शृणोषि <i>śṛṇōshi</i> . ¹¹
ЗВЕНИЮЩИ <i>zvenishi</i> , "sonas,"	स्वनसि <i>svanasī</i>
ПЯДИЮЩИ <i>pūdishi</i> , "pellis,"	पादयसि <i>pādāyasi</i> ¹²
ВЪВЪРТИЮЩИ <i>vartishi</i> , "vertis,"	वर्तसि <i>vartasi</i> .
ВЪДИЮЩИ <i>būdishi</i> , "expergefacs,"	बोधयसि <i>bōdhayasi</i>
СМІЖИЮЩИ <i>smischisi</i> , "nictaris,"	मिषसि <i>mishasi</i>

¹ See § 436² Compare ПИВО *pivo*, "beer"³ A middle

form which is replaced in Slavonic by the appended reflective ⁴ According to the ninth class (§ 109 5) but with irregular suppression of the *n* of the root *gna* which in the second class would form *gnati* to which the Slavonic form approaches more closely ⁵ *Dha* to place

the Slavonic form approaches more closely ⁵ *Dha* to place obtains through the preposition *ei* the meaning to make (compare § 442 Rem 5) Perhaps the Carniolan root *d lam* 'I work' is based on this root so that it would stand for *dedam* (§ 17) retaining the reduplication which is peculiar to the Sanscrit and Greek verb as also the Lithuanian *dedu* and *dėmi*. ⁶ Observe the favourite interchange be

Lithuanian *dedu* and *dėm*: * Observe the favourite interchange between *v* and *r* or *l* (§ 400 and § 409 Rem †) on this perhaps rests the relation of the inseparable preposition *g* *ra?*—which in several compounds corresponds in sense to the Latin *dis* (Dobr p 4 ? &c)—to the Sanscrit *यद्भिः* *abhis* *inter* for *ह* *h* is frequently represented by the

the Sanscrit वहिस् *vahis* enter for ह् *h* is frequently represented by the Slavonic *у* as in Zend by *у* e g in वहामि *vahamī* *у* *а* *х* *м* *и* *в* *е* *д* *у*. The Sanscrit *vahis* however is found in Slavonic in another form besides this viz with the *v* hardened to *b* hence *бѣзъ* *bezъ* without in verbal combinations *бѣзъ* and *божъ* (*Dobr p 413 &c*)

beſ without in verbal combinations *boſ* and *boſ* (Dobr p 413 &c)
 7 I have no doubt of the identity of the Slavonic root *nes* and the Sanscrit *n* which agree in the meaning to bring and in many passages in the Episode of the Deluge the Sanscrit *n* may be very well rendered by to carry With reference to the sibilant which is added in Slavonic obs rve also the relation of the root *slvs* to hear to the Sanscrit *eru* and Greek *IAIY* * In the infinitive *ſbats* and preterite *ſbach* the

and Greek I AY * In the infinitive *ḡbat* and preterite *ḡbach* the
Sclavonic form of the root resembles very strikingly the Zend *𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀*
zbat m a complex but legitimate modification of the Sanscrit *hīay m*;
(§§ 42-57) † The root is properly *dar* according to the Grammar

(§§ 42 57) ⁹ The root is properly *dar* according to the Grammarians दृ *dri* and दा *da* (euphonic for *na*) the character of the ninth class (§ 109 5) Compare Vocalismus p 179 ¹⁰ Remark the

class (§ 109 5) Compare Vocalismus p 179 ¹⁰ Remark the
Zend form *𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀* *pērēśah* In Russian *с* *prosity* means to carry

¹ Irregularly for *aru* *sl* from the root *aru* with the character of the fifth class (§ 109. 4) and euphonic for *n* (comp. Rem. 7). The

fifth class (§ 109 4) and *n* euphonic for *ñ* (comp Rem 7). The causal form of *pad* 'to go'. The Slavonic has *u* for *α*, according to § 255 *h*. The Latin *pello* appears to me to belong to this root with *ex* change of *d* for *l* (§ 17) to which a following *y* may have assimilated itself—as in Greek λαε from αλγ— as a remnant of the causal character *अय* *ayu* (§ 374).

448 The Lithuanian has in common with the Greek preserved the full termination *si* only in the verb substantive where *es si* and the Doric *es si* hold out a sisterly hand to

each other. In other cases the two languages appropriate the syllable in question so that the Lithuanian retains everywhere the *z*, the Greek, in concordance with the Latin and Gothic the *s*. Compare the Lithuanian *dūd-z* with the Sanscrit *dadā-si*, Slavonic *da-si*, Greek δίδω-ς, and Latin *da-s*. Just as *dūdh-z* has suppressed its radical vowel before that of the termination, so in Mielcke's first and second conjugation is the connecting vowel removed, while the third and fourth form a diphthong of it with *z*, as in the first person with the *u*, hence *wež-z* for *weže-z*, opposed to the Sanscrit *vah-a-si*, Zend *vaz-a-hi*, Slavonic *vez-e-si*, Latin *veh-is*, Gothic *viþ-is* (§ 109^a 1), Greek ἐχ-εις, and its own plural *vež-e-te*, as *dūda-te* opposed to *dūdh-z*, but *yessk-a-z*, "thou seekest," analogous to the first person *yessk-a-u*. In the Greek, however, the *z* of the second person in the conjugation in ω has hardly been lost entirely, but has very probably retired back into the preceding syllable. As, for instance, γενέτειρα out of γενετερια = Sanscrit *janiti-i*, μέλαινα out of μελανια (§ 119), μείζων, χείρων, ἀμείνων, for μεζίων, &c (§ 300.), so also τέρπ-ει-ς out of τερπ-ε-σι = Sanscrit *tarp-a-si*. One may be to assume, that in Greek the *z* has exercised an attractive force similar to that in Zend (§ 41), and accordingly the antecedent syllable has assimilated itself by the insertion of an *z*, so that τέρπεις is to be explained as arising from an older form *τερπ-ε-σις*? I think not, because of the *z* forms extant now in Greek, no one exhibits such a power of assimilation, and, for instance, we find γένεσις, τέρενι, μέλανι, not γένεσις, &c. The power which is not attached to the living *z* is hardly to be ascribed to the dead.

449 The Lithuanian carries over the *z* of the primary forms also to the secondary, at least to the preterite, or has brought it back by an inorganic path to this place, which it must have originally occupied, so that, for instance, *buu-ai* corresponds to the Sanscrit *a-bhav-as*, "thou wast." On the other hand, in the Slavonic the secondary forms

are without any personal sign of distinction since the terminating *s* of the cognate languages has been compelled to yield to the universal law of suppression of terminating consonants (§ 255 1) Hence for instance the imperatives *दादा* *dashdi* give *देष्ट* *reḡye* drive answering to the Sanscrit *dadyas* *rahe* Zend *daidyo* (§ 442 observ 5 and § 56^b) *αα* *ais* Greek *διδως* *ēxois* Latin *dēs* *rehds* Gothic *igais*

450 There remain two isolated singular terminations which require our consideration *धु* *dhi* and *था* *tha* The first is found in Sanscrit in the imperative of the second principal conjugation which answers to the Greek conjugation in *μι* the latter in the reduplicated preterite of verbs in general The termination *dhi* has however split itself into two forms inasmuch as in ordinary language consonants alone have the power to bear the full *dhi* but behind vowels all that remains of the *dh* is the aspiration hence for instance *bhāhi* shine *pa hi* rule in contrast to *ad dhi* eat *vid dhi* know *vag dhi* speak *yung dhi* bind That however *dhi* originally had universal prevalence may be inferred from the fact that in Greek the corresponding *δ* spreads itself over consonants and vowels since we find not only *ισθι* *κεκραχθι* *ἄωχθι* *πεντισθι* but also *φαθι* *ιθι* *σῆθι* &c furthermore from this that in Sanscrit also many other aspirates have so far undergone mutilation that nothing but the breathing has remained inasmuch as for instance the root *dha* to lay forms *hata* in the participle passive and the dative termination *bhyam* in the pronominal first person although at an extremely remote period has been mutilated to *hyam* (§ 215) finally from this that in more modern dialects also in many places a mere *h* is found where the Sanscrit still retains the full aspirated consonant as also the Latin opposes its *humus* to the Sanscrit *bhūmi* The opinion I have founded on other grounds, that it is not the ending *hi* which as the original has strengthened itself to *dhi* after consonants but conversely *dhi* which after vowels has mu

tilated itself to *hu** has been since confirmed by evidence drawn from the Vêda dialect, which I have brought to the aid of the discussion, inasmuch as in this it is true the mutilated form *hu* is already extant, but the older *dhu* has not retired so far to the rear as not to be permitted to connect itself also with vowels. Thus, in Rosen's Specimen of the Rîg Vêda (p 6) the form *shru-dhu*, "hear thou," answers remarkably to the Greek $\kappa\lambda\upsilon\theta\iota$ †. The Zend also gives express confirmation to my theory, in that it never, as far as is yet known, admits of the form *hu*, or its probable substitute 𐬨𐬀 *z* (§ 97), but proves that at the period of its identity with the Sanscrit the *T* sound had never escaped from the ending *dhu*. In Zend, in fact, we find, wherever the personal ending is not altogether vanished, either *dhu* or *dî*, for instance, 𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀 *stûdhu*, "praise thou," for the Sanscrit स्तुहि *stuhî*, 𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *kēñûdhu*, "make thou," for the word, deprived of its personal ending, 𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀 *krînu*, 𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀 *daz-dhu*, "give thou" (for देहि *dēhî*), euphonic for *dad-hu*, inasmuch as *T* sounds before other *T* sounds pass into sibilants (compare $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\text{-}\theta\iota$, § 102) to soft consonants, however, as Bui-nouf has shewn, the soft sibilants 𐬨𐬀 *z* and 𐬭𐬀 *sch* alone correspond ‡. For 𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀 *dazdhu* we find, also, 𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *dârdî*, for instance, Vend S p 422, but I do not recollect to have met elsewhere with *dî* for *dhu*.

451 How much, in Sanscrit, the complete retention of the termination धि *dhu* depends on the preceding portion of the word, we see very clearly from this, that the character of the fifth class (*nu*, § 109^a 4) has preserved the mutilated form *hu* only in cases where the *u* rests against two antecedent consonants, for instance, in अप्नुहि "obtain," from अप्

* See Gramm Crit § 104 and Addenda to § 315

† Compare Rosen's Remark on this termination, l c p 22 — B. The retention of धि after a vowel is found also in the Mahābhārata as अप्यधि "put away," "discard" — W.

‡ Yaçna LXXXVI ff and CXXI ff

(compare *ad ipiscor*) Where however the *u* is preceded only by a simple consonant it is become incapable of bearing the *hi* ending hence for instance *chinu* collect from the root *chi* In this mutilated form the Sanscrit goes along with the corresponding verbal class in the Greek where *δεικνυ* according to appearance is in like manner without personal ending This coincidence is however fortuitous as each of the languages has arrived independently at this mutilated form subsequently to their separation Nor is the Greek *δεικνυ* entirely without termination but as I conjecture the *i* of the ending *θi* lies concealed in the *υ* for instance *δανυτο* (Il xxiv 665) from *δανιιτο* It is not requisite therefore to derive *δεικνυ* from the *ω* conjugation and to consider it as a contraction from *δεικνυε* and thus also *τιθεi* not from *τιθεε* but from *τιθετι* the *τ* being rejected as *τυπτεi* from *τυπτετι* followed out from *τυπτεται* and as *κερα* from *κερατι* thus also *ιστη* (for *ιστη*) from *ιστα(θ)i* as *Μουση* from *Μουσαι* *λογω* from *λογοi* (compare *οικοi*) If also *διδου* be the contraction of *διδουε* we find near it in Pindar the dialectic form of *διδου* which adumbrates very well a derivation from *διδου(θ)i* *

452 As the *ῥ u* of the fifth class where it is not preceded by two consonants has lost the capacity for supporting the personal ending *dhi* or *hi* thus also the short *a* of the first chief conjugation both in Sanscrit and Zend has proved too weak to serve as a support to *dhi* or *hi* and has laid them aside as would appear from the remotest period as the corresponding Greek conjugation namely that in *ω* and the Latin and Germanic conjuga-

* The relation of *δδ* to *δδ* is essentially different from that which exists between *τυπτοσ τυπτσα* and *τυπτεσι τυπτεσα* for here as in *μλας* for *μλς* out of *μλς* and analogous cases the *i* represents a nasal which in the ordinary language has been melted down to but also in *τθς* for *τθς* has become *i* On the other hand *δδ* and *δδ* do not rest on different modifications of a nasal

latter the Gothic *th*. If however the Greek in its termination $\theta\alpha$ appears identical with the Sanscrit $\vartheta\theta a$ this appearance is delusive for in an etymological point of view $\theta = \vartheta dh$ (§ 16). While however this rule holds good elsewhere in the case above θ is generated by the antecedent s on the same principle as that which in the medio-passive converts every τ of an active personal termination after the preinsertion of σ into θ . As to the origin of the σ which constantly precedes the ending $\theta\alpha$ I have now no hesitation contrary to my earlier opinion * in referring it to the root in $\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ and $\omicron\iota\sigma\theta\alpha$ and in dividing them $\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ $\omicron\iota\sigma\theta\alpha$ (for $\omicron\iota\delta\theta\alpha$). The first answers to the Sanscrit *ds i tha* for which we may expect *ds tha* without the connecting vowel which has perhaps remained in the Vedic dialect. If this treatment and comparison however be unsound then is $\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ also a remnant of the perfect to which also belongs the first person $\eta\alpha$ for $\eta\sigma\alpha$ = Sanscrit *ds a* and the ending $\theta\alpha$ thus stands in $\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ in its true place just so also in $\omicron\iota\sigma\theta\alpha$ answering to the Sanscrit *vet tha* (for *ved tha*) thou knowest Gothic *vait t* for *vait t* (§ 102) and very probably to the Zend *vaish ta* (see p. 91). The root $\vartheta\vartheta$ *vid* has the peculiarity demonstrated by comparison with the cognate languages to be of extreme antiquity of placing the terminations of the reduplicated preterites but without reduplication with a present signification hence in the first preterite *veda* (not *viēda*) answering to the Greek $\omicron\iota\theta\alpha$ for *Foida* and Gothic *vait*. In $\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha$ or $\eta\delta\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ I recognise as in all plusquam perfects with Pott a periphrastic construction and consider, therefore his $\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha$ or $\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ as identical with the simple $\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$. $\eta\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha$ is as to form a plusquam perfect nevertheless to the Sanscrit first augmented preterite *āyam ayas* correspond $\eta\iota\omicron\nu\ \eta\iota\epsilon\varsigma$. In $\epsilon\phi\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ however and in dia

* Annals of Oriental Literature p. 41

lectical forms like ἐθέλῃσθα, the termination $\theta\alpha$ appears to me unconscious of its primitive destination, and, habituated by ἡσθα and οἶσ- $\theta\alpha$ to an antecedent σ , to have fallen back upon the personal sign Σ , which was ready to its hand

454 In the Latin, *sti* corresponds to the Sanscrit termination *tha*, with a weakening of the *a* to *i*, and the preinsertion of an *s*, which has even intruded itself into the plural, where the *s* is less appropriate. On which account I consider it as a purely euphonic addition. Compare, for example

LATIN	SANSKRIT
<i>dedi-sti</i> ,	<i>dadi-tha</i> or <i>dadâ-tha</i> .
<i>steti-sti</i> ,	<i>tasthi-tha</i> or <i>tasthâ-tha</i>
<i>momordi-i-sti</i> ,	<i>mamardi-i-tha</i> , "thou crushedst"
<i>tutudi-i-sti</i> ,	<i>tutôdi-i-tha</i> , "thou woundedst"
<i>peped-i-sti</i> ,	<i>papardi-i-tha</i>
<i>proposci-i-sti</i> ,	<i>paprachchi-i-tha</i> , ⁷ "thou askedst"

The Latin has preserved the ancient condition of the language more faithfully than the Greek in this respect, that it has not allowed the termination in question to overstep the limits of the perfect. The Lithuanian and Slavonic have allowed the reduplicated preterite, and, with it, the termination, entirely to perish.

455 We give here a general summary of the points of comparison which we have established for the second person of the three numbers of the transitive active form

* Compare the Slavonic *proshiti*, "*precor*" (§ 447 Table). The Sanscrit root *prach*, whose terminating aspirate in the case above steps before its tenuis, has split itself into three forms in the Latin, giving up the *p* in one, whence *rogo*, *interrogo*, the *i* in another, whence *posco* (§ 14), and retaining both in *precor*.

SINGULAR

SANSKRIT	ZE'ND	GREEK	LATIN	GERMAN *	LITH	OLD SLAV
asi ¹	a' i	ἔσσ	es	ist	essi	yest
i shthasi	histah _i	ιστης	stas	†stas	stovet ²	stovish
d dasi	dadhah _i	δ δας	das		d d ²	dax
bh as	barah _i	φ ρ ις	fers ³	ba s		
eahasi	va ah _i	χεις ⁴	veh s	e g	i exi ²	iežesi
(a)ayas	hyao	ε(σ) ης	s el	stygai ⁶		
tushthas	hist us	στ ης	st s		stov h _i	stov
dadyas	da dhyao	δ δ ης	d s		d k ⁷	dasel d j ⁹
bhar s	bharas _i	φ ρ ις	feras	bairas		
e hel	e s	χ ις	vehus	e gais	i f ki ⁷	iežei ¹
avahas	va s	χ ις	vehas		we e ²	
dhi ¹¹	a dh ²¹²	σθι				
viddh	vichd ³¹³	σθ				
d hi ¹⁴	da d i ¹⁵	δ δ ωθ				
shr _i dh ¹⁶		λ θ				
vaha	va	σχε	vehe	e g		
witha	(onhith) a ³¹⁷	σθα ¹⁸				
e itha	val i ta ³¹⁹	σθα ¹⁸	e dist	vaist		
i tod i a			tutudist	st ist i i ⁹		
bibheth i a			fd st	ma m ist ²		

DUAL

i hthathas	histath ⁶²¹	ἴστ το			stovsta	stovla
bharath	barath ⁶²¹	φ ρ ετο		ba is		
val ihas	va atho ⁶²¹	σχετ		e gais	wezat	iežeta ^p
bh i m		φ ρ το		ba a is		
eah tam		ἔχ ετο		viga is	ef h ta	iežeta
avahatam		e χετ			we la	

PLURAL.

tushthatha	h st tha	στατε	stat	†st t		
bh tha	barath	φ ρ ετ	fe t s ²²	ba th ²³		
val tha	va atha	χετ	veh t s	vig i ²²	wex tē	iežete
tushthet ⁶	†sta la	στ ητ	st t s		stov kute	st ste
dadjata	d id i j ta	δ δ ητε	d t s		d kute	daschd te
bh eta	ba a ta	φ ρ τ	feratus	bairath ²		
eahēt	va a ta	ἔχ ετε	vehatus	i g ith ³	wefzkute	iežete
aval ata	va ata	e χετ	vehab is		wexēte	

* See § 44^o Rem *

¹ A mutilation from *as si* ² See §. 418 ³ Corresponds, with regard to the immediate connection of the personal termination with the root, to *बिभर्षि* *bibharshi* of the third class (§ 109ⁿ 3) ⁴ See § 442 3 ⁵ This form is grounded on *siy* as its root, *a* is the usual connecting vowel (p 105), and *i* the modal expression. More of this hereafter ⁶ *Tishthâyās*, or, with the *ā* suppressed, *tishthyās* would correspond with the Greek *ισταίης* but the root *sthā* treats its radical vowel according to the analogy of the *a* of the first and sixth class (§ 109ⁿ 1), and contracts it, therefore, with *i* or *ī* into *ē*, as in Latin *stes* out of *stais*. More of this hereafter ⁷ The Lithuanian imperative, also, like the Slavonic, rests on the Sanscrit potential. The *i* is thus here not a personal but a modal expression, but is generally suppressed in the second person singular, and Ruhig declares the form with *i* to be absolute ⁸ See Dobr p 530 ⁹ See Dobr p 539, and the further remarks on the imperative of the Achaemic conjugation ¹⁰ See §§ 255 1 and 433 ¹¹ Out of *ad-dhi*, and this euphonic for *as-dhi*, *ā-thi* (Gramm Crit § 100), so, below, *dē-hi* out of *dad dhi*. That, however, the form *dē-hi* has been preceded by an earlier *dā-hi* or *dā-dhi*, may be inferred from the Zend form *dāu-dhi* (see § 450), the first *i* of which has been brought in by the retro-active influence of the last (§ 41). In Sanscrit however, I no longer, as I once did, ascribe to the *i* of *ēdhi*, *dēhi*, an assimilating influence on the antecedent syllable, but I explain the *ē* out of *ā* thus, that the latter element of *a+a* has weakened itself to *i*. I shall recur to this hereafter, when I come to the reduplicated pretense ¹² As *अधि* *ādhi* has sprung from *ad-dhi* the latter leads us to expect a Zend form *az-dhi*, by the same law which has generated *daz-dhi* from *dad-dhi* ¹³ The here supposed *ush-dhi*, from *vid-dhi*, distinguishes itself from *daz-dhi*, out of *dad-dhi*, through the influence of the antecedent vowel, for *esh* and *ez* are, as sonant (soft) sibilants, so related to each other as, in Sanscrit, *स् s* and *श् sh* among the mute (hard), see § 21, and compare Burnouf's *Yaçna*, p xxxi ¹⁴ See § 450, and above, Nos 11 and 12 ¹⁵ See § 450 ¹⁶ Vêda form, § 450 ¹⁷ I have here, and also § 632, given a short *a* to the ending *tha*, although the lithographed Codex, p 311, presents *fi adadhôthâ* with a long *â*, but in the passage cited of the Izhene there are many other instances of the short terminating *a* written long, for which reason I cannot draw from the fashion of writing this word the conclusion that the originally short ending *tha* in Zend has lengthened itself, while in other words the converse has occurred compare § 335. As to what concerns the supposed form *âonhitha* I have elsewhere already cited the

third person $\text{anhi} \alpha = \text{anhi} \alpha$ and expect accordingly $\text{anhi} \alpha$ to be answered by $\text{anhi} \alpha$.¹ See pp 637, 638

¹² See § 102. ¹³ The Gothic roots *staut* and *maut* have permanently substituted the Guna for the radical vowel and thus saved the reduplication their concluding *t* for *d* satisfies the law of substitution but the first *t* of *staut* is retained on its original footing by the pre insertion of the euphonic *s* (§ 91). With regard to the *m* of *maut* as corresponding to the *bl* of *blid* look to §§ 67 and 215 and to the phenomenon often before mentioned that one and the same root in one and the same language has often split itself into various forms of various signification for which reason I do not hesitate to consider as well *bit* to bite (*beita bait*) as *maut* to cut off with its petrified Guna as corresponding to the Sanscrit *blid* to split.

¹⁴ The dual ending *to* of which we have evidence for the third person, leaves scarcely room for doubt that *to* is adapted to the second person of the primary forms. ¹⁵ Compare $\text{bil} \alpha \text{tha}$ of the third class and above No 3. Upon *th* for *d* see § 447.

THIRD PERSON

456 The pronominal base *ta* (§ 313) has after the analogy of the first and second person weakened its vowel in the singular primary forms to *i* and in the secondary laid it quite aside the *t* however in Sanscrit and Zend has with the exception of the termination in *us* nowhere suffered alteration while in the second person we have seen the *t* of *ti* divide itself into the forms *t* *th* *dh* and *s*. The Greek on the other hand has left the *t* of the third person in ordinary language unaltered only in $\text{esti} = \text{ast}i$ $\text{as}t$ but elsewhere substituted a σ so that for instance $\text{did} \omega \sigma$ more resembles the Sanscrit second person *dadāsi* than the third *dadōti* and is only distinguished unorganically from its own second person $\text{did} \omega \sigma$ by the circumstance that the latter has dropped the *i* which naturally belonged to it. That however originally τi prevailed everywhere even in the conjugation in ω is proved by the medio passive ending $\tau \alpha i$ for as $\text{did} \omega \tau \alpha i$ is founded on $\text{did} \omega \sigma$ so also is $\text{terp} \epsilon \tau \alpha i$ on $\text{terp} \epsilon \tau i = \text{Sanskrit } \text{tarp} \alpha \text{ti}$. The form $\text{terp} \epsilon \tau \alpha i$ has however arisen from a

rejection of τ , as above (§. 451), $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\iota$ from $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\tau\iota$, $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota$ from $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\theta\iota$, $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ from $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\tau\iota$,* as, also, in Prakrit, *bhanai*, “*dicat*,” is used together with *bhanadhi*† In the secondary forms the Greek, according to the universal law of sound, has given up the concluding *T* sound, and goes hand in hand, in this respect, with the Prakrit, which, with exception of the Anuswâra (§. 10), has repudiated all consonants at the end of words, as in the Gothic, § 433, and the Slavonic, § 255. l, hence $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\iota$ answers better to the Prakrit form *vahê*, and to the Gothic *viga* and Slavonic ВЕЗИ *vezi*, than to the Sanscrit *vahêt*, Zend 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬰 *vazôit*, and Latin *vehat*, *vehet*

457 While the concluding *T* sound which in the secondary forms in Sanscrit, Zend, and Latin, has survived the injuries of time has been abandoned by the *z* of *tz*, the more complete termination of the primary forms, it has itself been preserved to the present day in German and in Russian Nor has the Old Slavonic allowed the *z* to escape entirely, but exhibits it in the form of a *y*‡ Compare

OLD SLAVONIC	SANSKRIT
ѢСТЬ <i>yes-ty</i> , “ <i>est</i> ,”	अस्ति <i>as-ti</i>
ѢТЬ <i>yas-ty</i> , “ <i>edit</i> ,”	अस्ति <i>at-ti</i>
ВѢСТЬ <i>vyes-ty</i> , “ <i>scit</i> ,”	वेत्ति <i>vê-t-ti</i>
ДАТЬ <i>das-ty</i> , “ <i>dat</i> ,”	ददाति <i>dadâ-ti</i>
ВЕЗЕТЬ <i>vež-e-ty</i> , “ <i>vehit</i> ,”	वहति <i>vaha-ti</i>

* Perhaps $\omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\iota$ is also an antiquated dative form for $\omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\omega$, but a mutilation of $\omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\theta\iota$

† In the second imperative person, also, the Prakrit exhibits an interesting analogy to the Greek $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon(\tau)\iota$, $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron(\theta)\iota$, in the form *bhanai*, “*dic*,” for *bhanahi* from *bhanadhi*

‡ According to Dobrowsky, only in the Achaic conjugation; to Kopitar, also in the ordinary He notices, namely (Glagolita, p 62), “*Tertiae personae* ТЪ *tam sing quam plur veteres, ut nos hic, per* ТЪ *scribebant* *Hodierni per* ТЪ ” § *S* euphonic for *d* (p 608)

The Lithuanian has in the ordinary conjugation lost the sign of the third person in the three numbers hence *uė a* corresponding to the Slavonic *ieſ e ty* and Sanscrit *ah a ti*, the same also in the dual and plural. Those verbs only which in the first person have preserved the ending *mi* (§ 43.) have in the third also partially preserved the full *ti* or the *t* and indeed at the same time in full connection with the root hence *esti* he is *dusti* or *dust** he gives *ęst** he eats *gęst** he sings *dęst** he places *męgt* he sleeps *saugt* he preserves *gelbt* he helps *sergt* he protects *liekt* he lets. This singular ending is also carried over to the dual and plural. The Gothic has with the exception of *ist* where the ancient tenuis has maintained itself under the protection of the antecedent *s* everywhere *th* in the third person of the primary forms. This *th* however is not the usual dislodgement of *t* but stands as in the second plural person (see § 446) euphonically for *d* because *th* suits the ending better than *d* (§ 91). In the medio passive on the other hand the older medial has maintained itself in the ending *da* which also agrees with the Prakrit ending *di*. On these medials rests also the Old High German *t* by a displacement which has again brought back the original form†

458 For the designation of plurality *n* is inserted before the pronominal character which has been compared with the accusative plural (§ 236). Behind this *n* the Gothic in contradistinction from the singular has maintained the older medial since *nd* is a favourite union. Compare *sind* with *सिन् santi* *स्यन्ते henti* *sunt* and

* S euphonic for *t* in harmony with 107 and with the Slavonic

† In this sense is to be corrected what we have remarked on this head in § 90

(σ)εντι The Sanscrit observes before the same *n* the same principle, which we have noticed above (§ 437), with respect to the vowel-less *m* of the first person of the secondary forms. It pre-inserts, namely, an *a* when that letter or *â* does not already precede the pluralizing *n* in a class or root syllable. Hence, *tarp-a-nti*, like τέρπ-ο-ντι, *tishla-nti* like ἴσταντι, *bhâ-nti*, “they shine,” like φαντί, but *chi-nv-anti*, “they collect,” not *chi-nu-nti* from *chi*, *γ-anti*, “they go,” not *in-ti** from *i*. Thus the Greek ἀσι out of αντι in δεικνυ-ᾱσι, ἴ-ᾱσι, τιθέ-ᾱσι, διδó-ᾱσι, acquires a fair foundation, for it is scarcely to be admitted that so striking a coincidence can be accidental. For even if the forms *τιθعانτι*, *διδoαντι*, *ιαντι*, *δcικνυαντι*, are not maintained in any dialect, yet we cannot doubt that the length of the *α* in *τιθέᾱσι*, &c., as well as in *ἴσᾱσι* and *τετύφᾱσι*, is a compensation for an extinguished *ν*, and that *σι*, as everywhere in the third person, stands for *τι*. With regard, however, to the interpolated *α*, *δcικνυᾱσι* and *ἴᾱσι* coincide the most closely with the aboriginal type of our family of language, as in *τιθέᾱσι* the *c*, and in *διδóῳσι* the *o*, stand for the Sanscrit *û* or *a*, for *τίθημι* = *dadhâmi* and *δίδωμι* = *dadâmi*. These two Sanscrit words must originally have formed, in the third plural person, *dadhâ-n-ti*, *dadâ-nti*, or, with a shortened *a*, *dadhanti*, *dada-nti*, and to this is related the Doric *τιθέντι*, *διδόντι*, as ἐντί to εἶπεν *santi*. The forms *τιθέασι*, *διδoῳσι*, however, have followed the analogy of *δcικνύῳσι* and *ἴᾱσι*, inasmuch as they

* The Indian grammarians adopt everywhere *anti*, and, in the secondary forms, *an*, as the full ending of the third person plural, and lay down as in the first person singular of the secondary forms, as a rule, that *a* of the class syllable of the first chief conjugation is rejected before the *a* of the ending, thus, *tarp'-anti*, for *tarpânti*, out of *tarp-a-anti*. The cognate languages, however, do not favour this view, for if the Greek *o* of φέρ-ο-ντι is identical with that of φέρ-ο-μεν, and the Gothic *a* of *bair-a-and* with that of *bair-a-m*, the *a* also of the Sanscrit *bhairanti* must be received in a like sense as the long *û* of *bhâr-â-mas* and the short of *bhâr-a-tha*.

459 The Sanskrit verbs of the third class (§ 109 3) on

* That however the suppression of the nasal is not foreign to the end is shewn in the form $\text{𑀧𑁆𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀢𑀺𑀲𑀻} \text{ } s \text{ } n'atā$ they teach = Sanscrit 𑀧𑀼𑀢𑀾𑀓 $sātā$ from the root $\text{𑀧𑀼𑀢𑀾𑀓} \text{ } s$ which probably on account of the double sibilant follows the analogy of the reduplicated forms In Zend the nasal placed before the h may have favoured the suppression of that termination Upon the ξe for ξo see Burnouf's Ya na, p 480

an expression of plurality, and opposes to the Sanscrit *tarp-a-nlé* not only *τερπ-ο-νται*, but also to the Sanscrit *dadaté*, *dadhaté*, *δίδο-νται*, *τίθ-ε-νται*. Yet the Greek has, through another channel, found a means of lightening the excessive weight of the medial termination, by substituting *νται* where *ανται* would naturally occur, hence *δίκινυ-νται*, not *δεικν-ανται*, which latter we might expect from *δαικνύ-ᾱσι* (out of *δαικνυ-αντι*). The Sanscrit form *sthi-mi-até*, and the Greek *στόρ-νυ-νται* keep their completeness respectively, since the one has preserved the *a*, the other the nasal. The extrusion of the *α* from *στόρ-νυ(α)νται* resembles the *η* of the optative, inasmuch as, on account of the increasing weight of the personal terminations, in the medio passive, we form from *διδόην* not *διδοίμην*, but *διδοίμην*. The Ionicism has, however, in the third person plural, sacrificed the *α* to the *ν*, and in this particular, therefore, harmonizes most strictly with the Sanscrit, in remarking which, we must not overlook that, both in their respective ways, but from the same motive, have generated their *até*, *αται*, out of *anté*, thus, *στόρ-νύ-α(ν)ται* as compared with *στόρ-νυ-(α)νται*, the first being analogous to the Sanscrit *sthi-mi-a(n)lé*. We do not, therefore, require, contrary to p 255, to assume that *α* of *πσπαύαται*, and similar forms in the vowelization of the *ν* of *πέπauνται*, but *πεπαυ-νται* and *πσπαύ-αται* are diverse mutilations of the lost aboriginal form *πεπαύ-ανται*.

460 The Old Slavonic has dissolved the nasal in Dobrowsky's first and second conjugation into a short *u* sound, as in the first person singular the *m*, and contracted the latter with the antecedent connecting vowel, which elsewhere appears as *e*, but here is to be assumed as *ó*, to *ú*, so that *вѣзѣтъ* *vežútŷ** from *vezontŷ* has a surprising resemblance to the Greek *ἔχουσι* from *ἔχονσι* for *ἔχοντι*. The Bohemian

* Dobrowsky writes *вѣзѣтъ* *vežút*, and gives, as in the singular, the *y* only in the Archaic conjugation (see p 638 Rem '1)

ue-au has on the other hand preserved the old *a* of the Sanscrit *rah a nti* and the Gothic *uigand* which in the Latin *rehunt* by the influence of the liquids has become *u* in contrast to the *i* of the other persons (*reh i s* &c.) The *u* of the Bohemian *ue-au* however like the last constituent of the diphthong *u* of *вѣзѣтъ vežuty* is of nasal origin. In the Archæic conjugation the Old Slavonic has with the exception of *sūty* = *सन्ति santi sunt* *вѣдѣтъ henti evti* abandoned entirely the nasal of the termination but in its stead has maintained the *a* in its primary shape yet with the preinsertion of an unorganic *y* (§ 220) otherwise *dadaty* for which *дадаѣтъ dadajaty* would be nearly identical with the Sanscrit *ददति dadati* as reduplicated verbs have in Sanscrit also lost the nasal (§ 459) *вѣдаѣтъ vyedyaty* they know accords less with *वि वा vidanti* and *ядаѣтъ yadyaty* they eat with *यदन्ति adanti*. Thus analogy is followed also by these verbs which correspond to the Sanscrit tenth class (§ 109 6) namely Dobrowsky's third conjugation as *būd ya ty* they make = Sanscrit *बोधयन्ति budh aya nti*. Here however as the division and recomposition shews the *a* preceding the *y* is not inorganic but belongs with the *a* to the character syllable of the conjugation of which more hereafter.

461 In the secondary forms the vowel has been dropped from the plural ending *nti* or *anti* as from the singular *ti si mi* and with this in Sanscrit after the law had established itself so destructive to many terminations which forbids the union of two consonants at the end of a word (§ 94) the personal character *t* was obliged to vanish which in Greek where a simple *t* is also excluded as a termination had been already withdrawn from the singular. If thus *ἐρεπ* *e* finds itself at a disadvantage opposed to *atarp-a t*—thus in *ἐρεπ* *o-v* opposed to *atarp a n* (for *atarp-a nt*)—the two languages if not from the same motives stand on a similar footing of degeneracy. *Ησ αν*

accords still better with *is-an*, and aorists like ᾠδαῖσαν with Sanscrit tenses like the equivalent *adikshan*, as it would seem that the sibilant of the verb substantive has protected the *a* of the ending *an* from degenerating to *o*, for the usual practice of the language would have given us to expect ᾠσον like ἔτρπον, or ᾠσεν like ἔρποι-εν. The Zend goes along with the *εν* of the latter in forms like 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 *anhēn*, "they were," and 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 *barayēn*, "they might bear" = φέροιεν. We see from this that the Zend also cannot support the weight of the termination *nt*, although it condescends more than the Sanscrit to concluding sibilants sequent on *i*, *c*, *f*, and *n*, and has handed down to us nominatives such as 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 *ātars*, "fire," 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 *druc-s*, "a demon," 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 *keifs*, "body," 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 *barans*, "bearing." From the Gothic have vanished all the *T* sounds which existed in the previous periods of the German language (see § 294 Rem. 1.) Hence, if in the present indicative *bair-a-nd* answer to the Sanscrit *bar-an-ti* and Greek φερ-ο-ντι, we can nevertheless look for no *bairaind* or *bairaiand* in the conjunctive answering to φέροιεν(τ), Zend *barayen(t)*, and we find instead *bar-rai-na*, as would seem by transposition out of *bair-an*, so that *an* corresponds to the Greek and Zend *εν*, *ēn*, out of *an* *. In the medio-passive the lost *T* sound of the active has preserved itself as in the Greek, because it did not stand at the end, but the vowel coming before, and, in Gothic, by transposition, after the *n*, is removed on account of the increscence of the ending, hence, *bairaindan*, as in Greek φέροιτο, not φέροιεντο (compare p 642)

462 The ending *un* of the Gothic preterite, as in *haihartun*, "they were named," may be compared with the

* Or might we assume, that, as in the accusativē (§ 149), an inorganic *ā* had been appended to the originally terminating nasal? The supposition of the text, however, accords better with the probabilities of the primitive grammar

Alexandrine *αν φοι αντι ασι* (*εγω και ειρηκαν &c*) with the recollection that the Sanscrit also in its reduplicated preterite although the primary endings accrue to it yet under the pressure of the reduplication syllable has been unable to maintain the original *anti* uncorrupted but puts *us* in its stead. The *s* of this form is without doubt a weakening of the original *t* with respect however to the *u* it may remain undecided whether it is a vowelization of the nasal and thus the latter element of the Greek *ου* of *τυπτοουσι* or a weakening of the *a* of *anti*. The Sanscrit uses the ending *us* also in the place of *an* first in the potential corresponding to the Zend Greek *en ev* hence *भरेयुस* *bharēyus* (with an euphonic *y* § 43) *բարայ ԵՆ* *baray en* *φεροι εν* second in the first augmented preterite of the reduplicated roots thus *adadhus* they placed *adadus* they gave for *adadhan* (comp *ετιθει*) *adadan* from which it is clear that *us* since *u* is lighter than *a* (Voerhismus p 227 ff) is more easily borne by the language than *an* third in the same tense but at discretion together with *u n* in roots of the second class in *a* for instance *ayus* or *ayan* they went from *ya* fourth in some formations of the multiform preterite for instance *अश्रावुश्* *ashraushus* they heard

463 The Old Slavonic could not according to § 255 *l* maintain unaltered either the *t* or the *n* of the secondary form *ant* or *nt* it sets in their place either a simple *a* or *u* which last is to be derived from *on*. These two endings are however so dealt with by the practice of the language that *a* appears only after *sh* *s* only after *ch* for instance *вѣхъ* *byechu* or *вѣша* *byesha* they were (§ 255 *m*). The secondary form of the Latin has been handed down in most perfect condition and has everywhere retained the pronominal *t* after the nasal which expresses plurality thus *erant* outdoes the abovementioned forms *υσαν* *ησαν* and *ανην* and *ferant* in respect of the personal sign

is more perfect than the Greek *φέρει-εν*, Zend *բարայեն* *barayēn*, Gothic *bairai-na*, and Sanscrit *भारयति* *bharēy-us*

464 In the dual of the Sanscrit the primary form is *tas*, and the secondary *tām* · to the first corresponds, in Greek, *τον* (§ 97.) thus *τέρπ-ε-τον* = *terp-a-tas*;—but the ending *tām* has, according to the variety of the *ā* representation (§ 4) divided itself into the forms *την* and *των*, of which the former is the prevalent one, the latter limited to the imperative, hence *ἐτερπ-έ-την*, *τερπ-οί-την*, against *atarp-a-tām*, *terp-é-tām*, *ἐδικ-σα-την* against *adik-sha-tām*, but *τερπ-έ-των* against *terp-a-tam* From this remarkable coincidence with the Sanscrit, it is clear that the difference in Greek between *τον* on the one hand and *την*, *των* on the other has a foundation in remote antiquity, and was not, as Buttmann conjectures (Gr. § 87 Obs 2), a later formation of the more modern prose, albeit in four places of Homer (three of which are occasioned by the metre) *τον* is found for *την* The augment, however, cannot be considered as a recent formation merely because it is often suppressed in Homer, since it is common to the Greek and the Sanscrit In Zend the primary form is regular, *ٻر ٿو* * for the secondary, however, which will run *ٻڙو ٿانم*, we have as yet no instance The Gothic has lost the third dual person, but the Old Slavonic has *ѿа* *ta*, feminine *ѿѧ* *tye*, as well for the primary

* An instance is found in a passage of the Izeshné (p 48), the sense of which has been much mistaken by Anquetil — *արգեջասց ԲԵԼԱՐԱՍ ԿԱՅԱՇԼԱՍ . ԲԵՐԱՅՆԱՍԾԱՍԵ ԳԵԾԵՐԵՅ ԽՐԹ ԱՅԿՍ ԱՐԳԷՂԱՍԵ ԳԽՅԴԼԱՍԸ ԲՐԱՍԾ ʽšāōmī maēghēmcha vārēmcha yā tē kchī pēm vacsayatō* *baī ēšnus purī gairīmanm*, “I praise the clouds and the rain, which sustain thy body on the heights of the mountains” According to Anquetil, “J’adresse ma priere à l’année, à la pluie, auxquelles vous avez donné un corps sur le sommet des montagnes” *Vacsayātō* is either the future of *vaz*, with an inserted *σ*—thus for *vacsyātō* = Sanscrit *vakshyatas*—or a derivative from the root mentioned, in the present according to the tenth class, in either case, however, a third person dual

form तम् *tas* (τοί) is for the secondary ताम् *tam* την των
(compare § 445), hence ΠΕΖΕΤΑ *vezeta* they two travel
= वाहताम् *vahatam* ΠΕΖΟΎΤΑ *vezosta* they two travelled
= आक्षताम् *akṣhātām* euphonic for *akṣhātām* p 98 ΖΒΕΝΙΕΤΑ
ženjestā they two sounded = आस्निषताम् *asvanishtām*
As to what concerns the origin of the last letters *s* and *m*
in the personal expressions तम् *tas* and ताम् *tām* they rest
without doubt on a similar principle to those of the second
person तस् *thas* तम् *tam*, and if one of the explanations
given § 444 be valid we must then abandon the conjecture
elsewhere expressed that *m* of *tām* sprang indeed
originally from *s* but through the previous intervention
of a *v* (for *u*) after the analogy of आवाम् *āvām* we two
युवाम् *yuvām* you two (see § 349 Table Dual 1)

465 The following comparative table presents a summary
of the third person in the three numbers —

SINGULAR

SANSKRIT	ZEND	GREEK	LATIN	GERMAN	LITH	OLD SLAV
<i>asti</i>	<i>ast</i>	στ	<i>est</i>	<i>ist</i>	<i>esti</i>	<i>yesly</i>
<i>tiśtati</i>	<i>īstati</i>	ιστατ	<i>st it</i>	<i>†stat</i>	<i>stow</i>	<i>stosity</i>
<i>dadati</i>	<i>dadhasti</i>	δ δωτ	<i>d it</i>		<i>dusti</i>	<i>dasty</i>
<i>ṛtti</i>			<i>est</i>	<i>itith</i>	<i>ēsth</i>	<i>yasty</i>
<i>barati</i>	<i>baraiti</i>	φ ρ (τ)†	<i>fert</i> ²	<i>bauith</i>		
<i>vāṭati</i>	<i>vazaiti</i>	χ (τ)	<i>vel it</i>	<i>vigith</i>	<i>weza</i> ³	<i>vezety</i>
(a) <i>syat</i>	<i>hyat</i>	(σ) η	<i>siel</i>	<i>s ya</i> ⁴		
<i>tiśti t</i> ⁵	<i>histoi</i>	στ α η	<i>stet</i>			<i>stoi</i>
<i>dadyat</i>	<i>dādī yāt</i>	δ δ η	<i>det</i>			<i>daschdy</i>
<i>bharati</i>	<i>baroit</i>	φ ε ρ	<i>ferat</i>	<i>bairai</i>		
<i>avahati</i>	<i>vazati</i>	χ ε	<i>vehebat</i>		<i>we-ē</i>	
<i>asvanati</i>						<i>ženye</i>

DUAL

(a) <i>ślas</i>	<i>shlō?</i>	στ				<i>yesta</i>
<i>tiśtatas</i>	<i>īstatō?</i>	ιστατ				<i>stō ta</i>
<i>bar tam</i>		φ ε ρ τ η				
<i>bharat m</i>		φ ρ τ ω				
<i>asvanishtam</i>						<i>ženyesta</i>

PLURAL

SANSKRIT	ZEND	GREEK	LATIN	GERMAN	ITH	OLD SLAV
<i>santi</i> ,	<i>hēnti</i> ,	(σ)cvτί,	<i>sunt</i> ,	<i>sind</i> ,	⁵	<i>sūty</i> ⁹
<i>tishthanṭi</i> ,	<i>histēnti</i> ,	ἵσταντι,	<i>stant</i> ,	† <i>stānt</i> ,	⁶	<i>stoyaty</i>
<i>dadati</i> , ¹⁰	<i>dadēnti</i> , ¹¹	διδότι,	<i>dant</i> ,		⁸	<i>dadyaty</i>
<i>bhananti</i> ,	<i>baēnti</i> ,	φέροντι,	<i>ferunt</i> ,	<i>bairand</i> ,		
<i>vahanti</i> ,	<i>vaēnti</i> ,	έχοντι,	<i>vehunt</i> ,	<i>wigand</i> ,		<i>vežūty</i> ⁹
<i>tishthēyus</i> , ¹²	<i>histayēn</i> ,	ἵσταίν,	<i>stent</i> ,			
<i>bhanēyus</i> , ¹²	<i>baayen</i> ,	φέροιν,	<i>ferant</i> ,	<i>banama</i> , ¹³		
<i>āsan</i> ,	<i>anhēn</i> ,	ἦσαν,	<i>erant</i> ,			
<i>atarpiṣhus</i> ,		ἐτερψαι,			²	<i>terpysha</i> ¹⁴
<i>asaniṣhus</i> ,						<i>ženyesha</i>
<i>ahkshan</i> ,		ἐλειξαι,				<i>lohasha</i>

¹ See § 456² Agrees with ἱμάρτι *bibhanti*, third class, p 636, 3³ Without personal sign see § 457⁴ See p 636, 5⁵ P 636, 6⁶ First person, *asvanisham*, "I sounded"⁷ See § 464⁸ As

in the singular see § 457

⁹ See § 225 *g*.¹⁰ See § 459¹¹ See § 459¹² See p 645¹³ See p 644¹⁴ *Tarpyeti*

is called "suffering," "bearing," so that the original signification appears to be inverted compare the Gothic *thaurban*, "to need" (Vocalismus, p 170) The Sanscrit root *tarp* (*trip*) means, according to the fifth class *tripyāmi*, "to be content, satisfied", according to the first (*tarpāmi*), tenth (*tarpayāmi*), and sixth (*tripāmi*), "to content," &c

MEDIAL TERMINATIONS

466 The medial terminations, in which the passive participates, distinguish themselves throughout from those of the active form by a greater fulness of form, even though the mode of formation be not always the same Sanscrit, Zend, and Greek accord together in this, that they extend a concluding *αι* in the primary forms, by the pre-insertion of *α* hence, *μαι* from *μι*, *σαι* from the *σι* which remains uncorrupted only in *έσσι* of the second person (§ 488.), *ται* from *τι*, and, in the plural, *νται* from *ντι* The Sanscrit and Zend make their diphthong *ē* correspond to the Greek *αι*, and this applies to the rare cases in which the *ē* produced by *a + i* is represented in Greek by *αι*, as usually the first element of the Indo-Zend diphthong appears, in Greek, in the shape of

e or o (see Vocalismus p 196) The weightier and original *a* seems however in the extant endings of the middle voice where the expressive fullness of form of the language comes most into evidence to have been purposely guarded The Gothic has lost the *i* element of the diphthong *ai* hence in the third person *da* for *dai* in the second *za* (euphonic for *sa* § 86 5) for *zai* and in the third person plural *nda* for *ndai* The first person singular and the first and second of the plural have perished and are replaced by the third as our German *sind* which pertains properly to the third person plural has penetrated into the first The *a* which precedes the personal ending as in *hait-a* *~a* *locaris* *hait-a da* *locatur* as opposed to the *i* of *haitis* *locas* *haitith* *locat* appeared formerly mysterious but has since to my mind fully explained itself by the assumption that all Gothic verbs of the strong form correspond to the Sanscrit first or fourth class (p 105) and that the *i* of *haitis* *haitith* is a weakening of an older *a* conformable to rule and the result of a retro active influence of the terminating *s* and *th* (§ 47) The medio-passive however found no occasion for a necessary avoidance of the older *a* sound and it therefore continues in this particular in the most beautiful harmony with the Asiatic sister idioms

467 The Sanscrit and Zend have lost in the first person singular as well of the primary as the secondary forms the pronominal consonant and with it in the first chief conjugation the *a* of the class syllable (see § 435) hence चोपे *bôdhé* I know for *bôdh á-mé* or *bôdh a mé* in the case that the weightier personal ending in § 434 has impeded the lengthening of the class vowel there mentioned Compare—

SANSKRIT	ZEND	GREEK	GOthic
अरे <i>bhar é</i>	𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 <i>bair é</i> ¹	φερ-ο μαι	
भरसे <i>bhar a sé</i>	𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 <i>bar a hé</i>	(φερ ε σαι)	φερη <i>bair a σ</i>
भरते <i>bhar a té</i>	𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 <i>bar ai té</i> ¹	φερ ε-ται	<i>bair a da</i>
भरन्ते <i>bhar a nté</i>	𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 <i>bar ai nte</i> ²	φερ ο ι-ται	<i>bair a nda</i>
	u u		

¹ See § 42 ² In the passive the third person plural often appears as ṽṣayēntī (Vend S p 136), with *ē* for *a*, through the influence of the antecedent *y* (§ 42) For the middle I have no instance of this person, we might at best be in doubt whether we might use *barēntē* after the analogy of the transitive *barēnti* or *baramitē* Both are possibly admissible, but *baramitē* appears to me the safest, as in the active transitive, also, *anti* is extant as well as *ēnti*, especially after *v*, where *ēnti* would, perhaps, not be allowed, hence, ṽṣayānti , "they live," = Sanscrit जीवन्ति *jivanti*, ṽṣayānti *bavanti*, "they are," = भुवन्ति *bhuvanti* We find, also, without *v* preceding, *yazanti* = *ya-janti* in a passage cited from the Tashtei-Yesht by Burnouf (Yagna, Notes, p 74) Or should we here read *yazantē*, as *yaz* is specially used in the middle

468 In the secondary forms the terminating diphthong in Sanscrit and Zend weakens itself in the same manner as in Gothic already in the primary, the *i* element, namely, vanishes, but the *a* remaining appears, in Greek, as *o*, hence, ἐφέρ-ο-το , opposed to अभर-अ-ता *abhar-a-ta*, ṽṣayānti *bar-a-ta*, in the plural, ἐφέρ-ο-ντο , to अभरन्त *abhar-a-nta*, ṽṣayānti *bar-a-nta* The Sanscrit-Zend forms have a striking likeness to the Gothic *bair-a-da*, *bair-a-nda* Yet I am not hence disposed, as formerly* to accommodate the Gothic primary to the Sanscrit secondary forms, and to make the comparison between *bair-a-da*, *bair-a-nda*, and *abhar-a-ta*, *abhar-a-nta*, instead of *bhar-a-tē*, *bhar-a-ntē* The ending *au*, in the Gothic conjunctive, is puzzling, for instance, *bair-audau*, opposed to the Sanscrit *bhar-ē-ta*, Zend *bar-aē-ta*, Greek ἐφέρ-οι-το , and thus, in the plural, *bair-a-ndau* opposed to ἐφέρ-οι-ντο ,† and, in the second person singular, *bair-a-za*

* Conjugation System, p 131

† In Zend the active *bair-ay-ēn* would lead us to expect a medial *bair-aē-nta* (compare § 461) The Sanscrit, departing from the sister languages, has the ending *īan*, thus *bhar-ī-īan*, which seems to me a mutilation of *bhar-ī-īanta* The root *śī*, "sleep," "he," inserts anomalously such an *i*, as here precedes the proper personal ending, in the third person of all special tenses (§ 109^a), suppressing, however, in the present impe-

to $\phi\epsilon\rho\ \alpha\iota\ (\sigma\alpha)$ It is not probable that this *au* has arisen out of *a* by the inorganic addition of a *u* as the degenerations of a language usually proceed rather by a wearing off than an extending process I think therefore that the ending *au* of the imperative where it has already attained a legal foundation (p 597) has insinuated itself into the conjunctive that thus the speakers seduced by the analogy of *bair a dau*, *bair a ndau* have used *bair ai dau* *bair ai ndau* also in the conjunctive and that thence the *au* has made its way into the second person singular thus *bair ai zau* for *bair ai za*. This ought not to surprise as the medio-passive in the Gothic has got into confusion in this respect that the first person and in the plural the second also has been entirely displaced by the third

469 In the second person singular of the secondary forms the Sanscrit diverges from the principle of the third and first Just as *ta* stands opposite to the primary *tē* and the secondary *t* of the transitive active we should expect *sa* as a counterpart to *sē* and *s* In its place however we find *thus* thus for instance *abhōdh a thās* thou knewest *bhōdh e thus* thou mightest know That however originally there was a form *sa* co-existent with this *thus* is indicated not only by the Greek in which $\epsilon\delta\iota\delta\omicron\ \sigma\alpha\ \delta\iota\delta\omicron\iota\ \sigma\alpha$ accord exactly with $\epsilon\delta\iota\delta\omicron\ \tau\omicron\ \delta\iota\delta\omicron\iota\ \tau\omicron$ but also by the Zend which exhibits *aw ha* in places where in Sanscrit अ सा is to be expected the *h* being a regular correspondent to *s* (§ 53)

imperative and first augment preterite according to § 459 the nasal of plurality hence $sē\ ra(n)t = \nu\tau\alpha$ potential *sayi ran* imperative $sē\ ra(n)t\imath m$ preterite $as\ ra\ n)\tau\alpha = \epsilon\iota\ \tau\omicron$ We shall hereafter recognise such an *r* in the middle of the reduplicated preterite As to its origin however I conjecture it to be the radical consonant of the verb substantive, with an anomalous exchange of *s* for *r* (comp § 2^o) so that for instance *dad i ran* for *dad i ranta*, would run parallel with the Greek active $\delta\delta\ \eta\sigma$ to which would pertain a medio pas $\alpha\epsilon\ \delta\delta\ \eta\sigma\ \nu\tau$ or $\delta\delta\ \sigma\alpha\ \tau$

and 𐬯𐬀 *sha* after such vowels as, in Sanscrit, require the conversion of the *s* into *sh* (p 20) The ending *ha* has, according to § 56¹, an *n* prefixed, and thus it occurs in my first Zend attempt (Berlin Annual March 1831 p 374), in the passive form, hitherto unique, 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀 *uśāyanha*, “thou wast born” (Vend. S p 42) Anquetil translates the passage, which cannot admit two interpretations, 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀 *hé tūm uśāyanha*, “to him thou wast born,” by “*lui qui a eu un fils célèbre comme vous*,” and thus conceals the true grammatical value of this remarkable expression, which was perhaps not intelligible even to Anquetil’s Pārsi instructors I have since been unable to find a second instance of this form, but Burnouf (Yagna Notes, p 33) has brought to light a middle aorist form of no less importance, namely, 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀 *urūudhusha*, “thou grewest,” to which we shall recur hereafter At present we are concerned only with the substitution of the ending *sha*, the *s* of which stands under the euphonic influence of an antecedent *n*

470 We return to the Sanscrit ending *thās*. This stands in obvious connection with the active ending *tha*, described § 153, which probably had, in its origin, an extension in the singular, and from which the form *thās* arose, by elongation of the vowel and the addition of *s*, which *s*, as observed Gramm Crit § 301 *d*, probably stands also to designate the second person If this be so, then either the first or the second personal expression would designate the person, which sustains the operation of the action or its interest, which in all middle forms is forthcoming at least in the spirit if not in the body Thus in *ādāt-tās*, “thou gavest to thee” (tookest), either “thou” is designated by *tā*, and “to thee” by *s*, or the converse If this be so, and if in the Greek first person the *ν* of the ending *μην* (Doric *μᾶν*) be organic, *i e* not a later nugatory addition, but intentional, and a legacy of the primeval period of our race of languages, then *ἐδίδόμην* also signifies “I gave to me,” whether it be that *με* (*μᾶ*) or, as

seems to me more probable the *v* expresses the subjective relation in either case however $\mu\eta\ v$ ($\mu\tilde{a}\ i$) stands even with respect to the length of the vowel in perfect analogy to the Sanscrit *thas*. To this we must add as an analogy for the third person the ending $\pi\alpha\ t\acute{a}t$ of the Vedic dialect where the expression of the third person stands doubled. I therefore hold this remarkable ending for a middle although Panini (VII 1 35) gives it out as a substitute for the transitive imperative endings *tu* and *hi** which precede blessings for instance *bharān juatāt* 'May your honour live! (respectful for mayest thou live!)'. It is true the root *ju* and perhaps many others with the ending *tāt* is not used in the ordinary language in the middle voice but the ending may be a remnant of a period in which all verbs had still a middle voice. The middle is moreover in its place in blessings in which some good or advantage is always imprecated for some one. Finally *tāt* in a formal respect is much nearer to the usual medial imperative ending *tām* than the transitive *tu* yet I do not believe that *tāt* has arisen out of *tām* but rather that the converse has taken place perhaps by the intervention of an intermediate *tas* (compare § 444). However this may be the ending *tāt* which Burnouf's acuteness has detected also in Zend† is of importance because it affords an ancient foundation for the Oscan imperative in

* Possibly the representation of the ending *ti* by *tāt* may be so understood as that in sentences like *bharān juatāt* 'May your honour live' the person addressed is always meant. Examples are not adduced in which the actual second person is expressed by *t t*. Should such exist we should be obliged here to bring back the two *ts* to the base *tia* of the second person while in the *tāt* of the third person both belong to the demonstrative base *ta* (§ 343).

† Only in one instance of value $\zeta\omega\alpha\tau\epsilon\sigma\upsilon\lambda\omega\gamma\zeta$ *uz tarst t* (Lacina p. 503 Note).

tud,* preserved to us in the table of Bantia, as *licitu-d* for *liceto*, *estu-d* for *esto*, ἔστω | To the Greek imperative ending τω a middle origin is otherwise ascribable, for in the plural, *τερπ-ό-ντων* accords perfectly with the Sanscrit middle *tarp-a-ntām*, and is related to it as *τερπ-έ-των* to the purely active dual *tarp-a-tām*. Should, however, *τερπ-ό-ντων* be identical with the transitive *tarp-a-ntu*, this would be a solitary instance in the entire grammar of the Greek language, in which ω corresponded to a Sanscrit *u*, with, moreover, an inorganic accession of a nasal. We should be more inclined in *τερπέτω* if we accommodate it to the medial *tarp-a-tām* to admit the abrasion of a nasal sound, as in ἑδίζα, opposed to अदिशम् *adisham*. I now, however, prefer to identify *τερπέτω* with the Vêda word *tarpatât*, for the abandonment of the τ were compulsory, that of the nasal an accidental caprice. The relation of *τερπ-έ-τω* to *tarp-a-tât* would be similar to that of ἑδιδω, ἑδω, to *adadât*, *adât*. If, however, *τερπέτω* be identical with *tarpatât* and Oscan forms like *licitud*, *estud*, the view we have mentioned above, that the Vêda ending *tât* belongs properly to the middle, acquires a new support, for if *τερπόντων* supports itself on *tarpanântām*, and so far is of middle origin, then its singular counterpart, also, can belong to no other verbal genus, and has asserted to itself a similar origin to that of its Asiatic prototype *tarpatât*.

471 The first person singular of the secondary forms ought,

* Compare the ablative in *ud* to the Sanscrit-Zend in *ât*, *ūt* and the Old Latin in *o-d*.

† It deserves remark, that Dr Kuhn, in his work "Conjugatio in *μ*, linguæ Sanscritatione habita" (p 26, obs), has ascribed to this Oscan form, without recognising its Vêda analogue, a passive origin. The Oscan affects a concluding *d* for *t*, but has maintained the old *tenuis* under the protection of a preceding *s*, hence the conjunctive forms such as *fust*, opposed to *furd* (see Muller's *Etrusci*, p 37). Compare, in this particular, the Gothic *ist* (§ 45) with *banith*, *banada*.

in Sanscrit after the analogy of the third in *ta* to be *ma* so that *bharema* would be the counterpart of the Greek *φεροιμαν* (*μην*) This form must also if not the oldest have been of long standing in Sanscrit In the condition however of the language as preserved the *m* as every where in the singular of the middle has given way and for *bhare(m)a* we find *bharé y a* with an euphonic *y* which is inserted before all personal endings beginning with vowels in both active forms of the potential (compare § 13) In the forms burdened with an augment the ending *a* already much mutilated has experienced a further weakening by the transition of *a* to *i* hence *astri nu i* *sternebham* for *astiri nu a* and this from *astirnu ma* or a still older *astri nu mam* which would answer to the Doric *εστορ νυ μαν*

472 We return to the primary forms in order to remark that in Sanscrit not merely those forms end in *e* which in the transitive active end in *i* and above have been classed opposite the Greek middle forms in *αι* but also those which in the transitive active exhibit no *i* and in the Greek middle no *αι* The collective primary forms run—

SING	DUAL	PLURAL
(<i>m</i>) <i>e</i> = <i>μαι</i>	<i>i ahé</i>	<i>mahe</i> = <i>μεθα</i>
<i>sé</i> = <i>σαι</i>	<i>áhi</i>	<i>dhié</i>
<i>te</i> = <i>ται</i>	<i>áte</i>	<i>nte</i> or <i>até</i> = <i>νται</i> <i>αται</i> (§ 459)

The Zend follows as far as evidence exists the analogy of the Sanscrit yet the first person plural is not *μαη* *mahe* as would be expected from *महे* *mahe* but *μαυη* *maudhé* (§ 41) * from which it is clear that as before I studied Zend I had inferred from the Greek *μεθα* the Sanscrit *mahe* is a mutilation of *मये* *madhe* The Greek *μεθα* however has on its side lost the terminating

* *Maudé* also occurs with the a Juration διηκιδ

the probably pre-existing forms *mamī, sasi tāti* perhaps also *māmī, sātī tāti* * the question arises which of the two pronouns expressed the subjective and which the objective relation Does *dat sa(ṛ)ḥ dīdo-sa(σ)ḥ* signify give thee thou or give thou thee ? If we assume the former we obtain the same order as in *διδοςθι δίδοςθον* &c of which more hereafter and the remarkable case would occur that after the suppression of the second pronominal consonant the first which with its vowel expressed the pronoun standing in the relation of the oblique case has obtained the appearance of designating the subjective or of belonging to the proper personal ending for in *διδω-μα(μ)ḥ* the feeling of the language would better dispense with the expression of the to me or me (accusative) than with that of

I I believe whichever of the two explanations be the true that we recognise in *διδω μαḥ* the same *μ* as in *διδωμι* That this should so appear is however no proof of the real state of the case for if *μα* much resembles the case in question and as has often occurred in the history of language reduplicated forms undergo interior mutilation by extrusion of the consonant of the second syllable the first syllable then acquires the appearance of belonging to the root itself No one misses from the point of sight of our current language from preterites like *hielt* the initial consonant of the root every one holds the *h* of *hielt* as identical with that of *halte* and yet as Grimm's acuteness has discovered (I 103 104) the syllable *hi* of *hielt* has gained this place by reduplication The Old High German form is *hualt hi(h)alt* and the Gothic *haihald* whose second and thus radical *h* has escaped from the younger dialects I now hold contrary to my earlier opinion the initial consonants of Sanscrit forms like

* Compare § 410 *thi s, ta t μ*

tēpima, "we expiated," for reduplicative, and I assume an extension of the base letter *t* of *talapima*, producing *tāpima* = *taapima*, and hence, by weakening of the *ā* (= *a + a*) to *ē* (= *a + i*), *tēpima*. In the Slavonic *damy*, "I give," also, and in the Lithuanian *dūmi*, the first syllable has sprung from a reduplication, and the radical syllable has entirely vanished. More of this hereafter.

474 Let us now turn to those middle endings in *ē*, to which, in Greek, no *αι* corresponds, and we believe, that we recognise in the plural *dhē* a pronominal nominative form in the sense of § 228. thus *dhē* out of *dhua-i*, of the base *dhua* for *tia*. The dual endings *āthē*, *ātē*, accord, on the other hand, with neutral dual forms, such, for instance, as *tē*, "these two." In the secondary forms, *dhvam*, distributed into *dhva-am*, may, in regard of its ending, be compared with *yū-y-am*, "you," *īay-am*, "we," but the dual expressions *āthām*, *ātām*, are related, in regard of their finals, to *dhvam*, as, by §. 206, *āu* (out of *ās*) is to *as*, and accord with *ātām*, "we two," *yūām*, "ye two." For the rest, *आथे āthē*, *आते ātē*, *आथाम āthām*, *आताम ātām*, appear to me mutilations of *tāthē*, &c (see Kuhn. l c, p 31), just as we have found above in the Vêda dialect, in the third person singular imperative *ām* for *tām* (p 651). The syllables (*t*)*hā*, (*t*)*ā*, which express the pronoun residing in the relations of the objective cases, are represented in Greek by the *σ* in *δίδο-σ-θον*, *ἐδίδο-σ-θον*, *ἐδίδο-σ-θην*, which *σ*, after § 99, explains itself very satisfactorily as out of *τ*, as *θ* with a preceding aspirate, or *σ*, is a very favourite union. If we oppose *δίδο-σ-θον*, &c, to the Sanscrit *dadh-(th)ā-thē*, we perceive that the two languages, in dealing with their aboriginal form, so divide themselves, that the one has preserved only the consonant, the other only the vowel of the pronominal expression of the oblique case relation. In the second person plural the Sanscrit has dropped the vowel as well as the consonantal element of the inter-

mediary pronoun but I believe that *dhūē dhīam* in the condition of the language immediately anterior were *d dhūē d dhīam*, thus *bhar a d dhūē abhar-a d dhīam* = *φερ ε-σ θε εφερ-ε-σ θε* for *T* sounds are easily suppressed before *tv* and *dhv* hence we find in the gerund for *dat* *tīā* after giving *bhāt tīā* after clearing more commonly *da tīā bhi tvā* and in the second aorist form the second person plural of the middle exhibits both *id dhīam* (out of *is dhīam*) and *i dhīam* finally before the ending *dhī* of the second person imperative singular a radical *s* is converted into *d* this *d* may however also be suppressed hence *sā dhī* is well as *sād dhī* reign thou for *ās dī* The root *as* forms merely *ē dhī** for *ad dhī* out of *as-dī* As then this *e-dī* is to the Greek *ἴσ θι* so is *bharadhīe* for *bharaddhīe* to *φερεσθε* only that in the latter place the Greek *θ* represents not the Sanscrit *dh* (§ 16) but the Greek *τ* through the influence of the antecedent *s* Hence also in the imperative *φερεσθω* is a medial after growth For after *φερεστω* a medial itself by origin had been applied in practice with a purely active signification the necessity arose of forming from it a new medio-passive on the old principle Even the infinitives in *σθαι* appear to me by a misdirected feeling to have proceeded out of this principle for after the true signification of the *σ* extinct in speech was extinguished the spirit of the language found it adapted everywhere by its insertion before *τ* and the conversion of the latter into *θ* to call forth a medio-passive signification If however we disrobe the form *διδασθαι* of its *s* and bring back the *θ* to *τ* we arrive at *διδοται* which admits of comparison with the Schvonic Lithuanian infinitive in *ti* just as this last may itself be brought back by other channels to abstract substantives in *ti*

* As I think immediately from *a dh* with a weakening of the *a* to

second person would remain *saw* but the second *s* would pertain not to the second person but to the reflective and we should then refer also the *s* of *abharathās* to the reflective and necessarily suffer the *μν* of *εφερομην* to stand totally isolated without sympathy with the old principle.

116 With respect to the Latin it was in the *Annals of Oriental Literature* (London 1820 p 67) that it was first observed that the passive *r* might owe its origin to the reflective. I am now the more decided in giving a preference to this hypothesis over that which resorts to the verb substantive that I have since recognised in the Lithuanian and Slavonic which I had not then drawn within the circle of my inquiries into comparative language a similar and in truth universally recognised procedure not however necessarily that aboriginal one which in the remotest era of the formation of the language must have governed those medial forms which are common to the Greek and Asiatic sisterhood but I rather assume a gradual inroad of the reflective of the third person into the second and first as a substitute for some older and more decided expression of each person on whom the action works retroactively. The Old Slavonic appends the accusative of the reflective to the transitive verb in order to give it a reflective or passive signification for instance *чтѣхъ члвчъ lego* becomes *члвчсѣя legor* and thus in the second and third person *чтешисѣя chleshisya* *чтетьсѣя chletysya* plural *чтенисѣя chlemsya* &c (Dobrowsky p 511 Kopitar's *Glag* p 69 xvii). In the Bohemian *se* is not so much as graphically connected with the verb and may stand as well before as after it but is used by preference for the expression of the passive only in the third person (Dobr. *Bohm Lehrs* p 182) which may also be the case with the Old Slavonic. In the Lithuanian such verbal expressions have merely a reflective signification but bear more the appearance of a

grammatical unity, and therefore more resemble the Latin passive, because it is not a positive case of the reflexive pronoun, whose accusative is *sauen* (p 477),* but only its initial consonant, which is appended to the verb, either immediately, or with an *e* prefixed. The latter occurs in the persons which end in *e* or *i*, the former of which, before the appended *es*, becomes *i*. Compare, in this respect, the Old Latin *amari-er* from *amare-er*, with forms like *uadinnati-es* for *uadinnate-es*. The dual endings *wa* and *ta* convert then *a* into *o*, and a simple *u* of the first person becomes *i*. I annex here the present of *uadinnûs*, "I name myself,"† opposite the simple transitive

SINGULAR

1	<i>uadinnu,</i>	<i>uadinnûs</i>
2.	<i>uadinni,</i>	<i>uadinnies</i>
3	<i>uadinna,</i>	<i>uadinnas</i>

DUAL

1	<i>uadinnawa,</i>	<i>uadinnanos</i>
2	<i>uadinnata,</i>	<i>uadinnalos</i>
3	like sing	like sing

PLURAL

1	<i>uadinname,</i>	<i>uadinnamies</i>
2	<i>uadinnate,</i>	<i>uadinnaties</i>
3	like sing	like sing

* It would appear that, together with this *sauen*, or, in the dative, *saw*, a kindred form *si* co-existed, as, in Old Slavonic *si* with *sebye*, and from this *si* it is plain that the suffix of the verba reflexiva proceeded, and in the third person, instead of a simple *s* the full *si* may stand, for instance *uadinnas* or *uadinnasi*, "he names himself." With verbs, also, beginning with *at*, *ap*, and some other preposites, or the negation *ne*, the reflexive is interposed in the shape of *si*, but may also be appended to the end, for instance, *issilakaus* (*is-si-lakaus*) "I sustain me."

† Compare Sanscrit *vad*, "speak."

177 To these forms the Latin passive is strikingly similar only that here the composition is already obscured as the sense of independence of the reflexive pronoun is not here maintained by its mobility as in the Lithuanian where under the above cited conditions it is placed before the verb. By the favourite interchange also between *i* and *r* a scission has occurred between the passive suffix and the simple reflexive for the persons ending with consonants a connecting vowel was necessary towards the adjunction of the *r* as such stands in *amatur amantur* as seems to me through the influence of the liquids. The imperative forms *amato-r* and *amanto-r* required no auxiliary vowel. In *amamur* the *s* of *amamus* has given way before the reflexive which is not surprising as the *i* does not belong to the personal designation and in Sanskrit is given up also in the simple verb in the secondary forms and occasionally even in the primary. In *amer* on the other hand the personal character is itself sacrificed to the suffix for *amemr* was not possible and *amemur* was forestalled for the plural (instead of *amemur*). In *amatis ameris* &c. there is either a conversion from *amur* or the personal character *s* has been unable to withstand the inclination to become *r* when placed between two vowels (§ 29) and the reflexive has protected its original *s* like as the comparative suffix in the neuter exhibits *ius* opposed to *ior* (§ 295) and *i* instead of *r* comes before as a connecting vowel*. In the singular im

* That the *i* of *amatis* belongs to the original ending *si* as Pott conjectures (Ftym Iorsch p 13) I cannot admit because I hold this kind of passive formation far younger than the period when the *i* of the active expression in Latin was still extant as it has also vanished in Greek without a trace except in *έσσι*. In the secondary forms however it had disappeared before the individualization of the languages here compared and yet we find *amabaris ameris*

and *amamina* for the neuter we should be spared the trouble of seeking an explanation for *amamini* inasmuch as it would partly be afforded by the language itself. It may be suitable here to bring to remembrance a similar procedure in Sanscrit this assumes for *datā* (from the base *dātār* § 144) properly *daturus* the sense of *daturus est* without reference to gender thus also of *antura* and *daturum est* although this form of word which is also a representative of the Latin nomen agentis in *tor* has a feminine in *tri* at its command (see *tri c* § 119) and the giveress is as little called *data* as the giver in Latin *dator*. In the plural also *dātāras* used as a substantive stands for the givers and in the character of a verbal person they will give thus in all genders likewise in the dual *dātārāu*. The procedure of the Sanscrit is thus still more remarkable than that of the Latin because its *dātā dātārāu dātārās* has maintained itself in the ordinary nominal usage of the language. It is therefore due merely to the circumstance that the language in its condition as handed down to us could no longer deal *ad libitum* with the forms in the sense of future participles, that *dātā dātārāu dātārās* where they signify *dabit dabunt* have lost all consciousness of their adjectival nature and their capacity for distinction of gender and have assumed altogether the character of personal terminations. To return however to the Latin *amamini* the Reviewer of my Conjugation System in the Jena Literaturzeitung (if I mistake not Grotefend) supports the explanation given by the forms *alumnus verumnus* which evidently belong to these participial formations but have lost the *i*. This however has been preserved in *terminus* if as Lisch correctly and beyond dispute has down we consider it as expressing that which is overstepped and identify its root with the Sanscrit *tar (tri)** *Femina*

* Vocalismus p 174

(as giving birth, and therefore middle) I had before recognised as a formation belonging to the same category the root is *fē*, from which also *felus*, *felura*, and *secundus Gemini*, moreover, as "the born together," (of the root *gen*) may be considered as a mutilation of *genmini* or *genimini*.

479 How stands the case now with the imperative *amaminor*? Are we to consider its *?* as identical with that of *amor*, *amator*, *amantor*? I think not, for it was not necessary to express here the passive or reflective meaning by an appended pronoun, as the medio-passive participial suffix was fully sufficient for this purpose. At most, then, we seek in *amaminor* for a plural case-ending as in *amamini*, and this is afforded us, as I have observed in my Conjugation System (p 106), by the Eugubian Tables, where, for instance, we find *subator* for the Latin *subacti*, *suehitor* for *scripti*.^{*} The singulars, however, of the second masculine declension in the Umbrian end in *o* we find *orto* for *ortus*, *subato* for *subactus*. Now it is remarkable that, in accordance with this singular form in *o*, there are extant also, in Latin, singular imperatives in *mino*, namely, *famino* in Festus, and *masfamino* in Cato de R. R. To these forms, before described, we can add *fiumino*, which Sturtevant (Lat Decl and Conj p 143) cites from an inscription in Gauger, "*is eum agrum nei habeto nei fiumino*," where the form in question plainly belongs to the third person, by which it still more conclusively proclaims itself to be a participle, in which character it may with equal right be applied to one as to the other person.

"Remark Grafe, in his work, 'The Sanscrit verb compared with the Greek and Latin from the point of view of Classical Philology,' remarks, p 120, that he once considered, as I do, the form in *mini* as a participle in the

^{*} The ending *oi* accords perfectly with the Sanscrit *ās* (*a + as*) and Gothic *ōs* (§ 227), while the Latin *?* has obtruded itself from the pronominal declension (§ 228)

category of the Greek *μενος* but now considers it with confidence as a remnant of an old analogy of the Greek infinitive in *μεναι* which having been originally passive had first been applied to the imperative in Latin and thence had been further diffused. How near the imperative and infinitive come together and how their forms are interchanged Grafe thinks he has shewn l. c. p. 58 ff. where namely the Greek second person in *ον* (*τυψοι*) is deduced from the Sanscrit first person singular in *āmi* but which is followed by the remark that however *tishāmi* (I should stand) is manifestly and strikingly like the infinitive *ισταται* if we moreover consider that *ai* in Sanscrit is only the diphthong nearest to *i* (in Greek however the rarest see Vocalism p. 193). We have however to remember that, in *ισταται* the *α* belongs to the root and that therefore for comparison with the Sanscrit imperative if such be admitted we can return nothing but *vai* as opposed to *āmi*. Grafe goes on. It would be easy to imagine that the first person plural *सामि* *tishāma* had its counter part in the other infinitive form *ισταμεν* properly *ισταμε** i. e. *stare*. Finally it may not be left unobserved that the Greek and Sanscrit imperative in *θι* *dhi* is again the form of the infinitive in the Schwabian dialects[†] and that custom admits the frequent use of the infinitive for the imperative in Greek. I could hardly have expected that the personal endings of the Sanscrit imperative could lead to so many and various comparisons. It appears however to me ill suited to the spirit of classical philology without necessity to attribute to the Greek among others that it has borrowed its second person imperative in *ον* from any

* I consider the very essential just because I deduce *με* and *μ* from the medial participial suff. *με* *ς*.

† I explain their *ti* as identical with the abstract substantive suff. *ति* *ti*.

Sanscrit first person I find it still less congenial to the spirit of a more universal comparative philology, that Grafe, who has before overlooked, in his comparisons, many laws of sound incontrovertibly established, should give too willing an ear to mere similitudes of sound, for instance, when he explains the root च॒char, 'to go,' by the periphrasis, 'to move scraping along on the ground,' and, p 32, places together ल॒lap, 'speak,' ल॒appen, 'to patch,' schlabb̄ern, 'to slabber,' and λαππω I was not aware that a German sch anywhere corresponded to a Sanscrit ch, but I knew that it did so to f (or v), in observance of the law of displacement (§ 87), and of the favourite practice of exchange between gutturals and labials. Remark the relation of chat̄āras to the Gothic fidvōi and our vier, as also that of panchan to funF, and you will be satisfied with the identification of the Sanscrit char, 'go,' and Gothic farya (preterite fōr), 'go,' 'wander,' fahnen If, however, we are to admit that any infinitive has arisen out of any imperative person, it would be the least far-fetched supposition which derived the Sanscrit infinitive and the Latin supine in tum from the third person imperative तृ॒tu, with the addition of m. for instance, bhātum, 'to shine,' from bhātu, 'let him shine', pātum, 'to rule,' from pātu, 'let him rule' In kartum, 'to make,' from karōtu, 'let him make,' the class vowel only would be thrust aside As, however, Grafe (l c p 58) has found a jest in what I have elsewhere said, and mean to repeat, of the first person imperfect, I must take care that he does not take for earnest what I mean as a jest. We do not, in truth, go so far in deriving bhātum from bhātu as in deducing ιστάναι from τίστηναι tishthāni (Zend histāni), 'I should stand', but I can find no other relationship between bhā-tu and bhā-tum than this, that in the infinitive, as an abstract substantive, the action is personified through a form which comes near the expression of the third person in the imperative I recognise in the suffix tu, as also in ti

(another class of abstracts with which the Sanskrit and Lithuanian infinitive is connected) various gradations of one and the same pronoun of the third person—as in the interrogative we find the forms *ka ki ku*—and so far a relationship between the nominal classes in question and the endings *ti* and *tu* of *bhāti* he shines and *bhātu* he may shine. The coincidence is thus in my case not quite so fortuitous as that between *ista iai* and *tishthānti*. Whosoever derives the former from the latter cannot escape from bringing into this family the Gothic infinitive in *an* especially as the *a* of *stand-an* does not like that of *ista iai* belong to the root. Historically however as I doubt not the German infinitive belongs to the class of the Sanskrit abstracts in *ana* as *bandh ana* the binding = Gothic *bind an*.

INFLUENCE OF THE WEIGHT OF THE PERSONAL TERMINATIONS.

480 The weight of the personal terminations exercises in Sanskrit and Greek and as far as we have evidence also in Zend an influence on the antecedent radical or class syllable obvious and comprehensive though till lately unobserved*. Before light terminations extensions are frequent which before the heavier are withdrawn so that in many anomalous verbs the entire body of the root can only be maintained before the light terminations but before the heavy mutilation occurs. For instance the root *as* as he retains its *a* before the one but rejects it before the other as if it had been overgrown by the augment hence, *asmi* I am but *amas* we are *astha* you are *santi* they are. We see however that this mutilation had not yet established itself

* I was first led to the observation of this interesting phenomenon in my investigation of the origin of the German Ablaut (Berlin Jahrb. 1871 259 and Vocalismus p. 13).

at the period of the unity of the language for the Greek protects, in the verb substantive, the radical vowel degenerated to *e*, even before the heavier terminations, and opposes *ἐσμές*, *ἐστέ*, *ἐστών*, to the Sanscrit *smas*, *stha*, *shtas*, *stas*. The Lithuanian and Slavonic, also, testify to the comparatively recent loss of the Sanscrit *a* before the weightier terminations. Compare

SINGULAR.

SANSKRIT	GREEK	LITH	SLAVONIC
अस्मि <i>as-mi</i> ,	ἐμ-μί,*	<i>es-mi</i> ,	ѣсмѣ <i>yes-my</i>
असि <i>a-si</i> ,†	ἐσ-σί,	<i>es-si</i> .	ѣси <i>ye-si</i>
अस्ति <i>as-ti</i>	ἐσ-τί,	<i>es-ti</i> ,	ѣсть <i>yes-ty</i>

DUAL

स्यस् <i>s-vas</i> ,	..	<i>es-uā</i> ,	ѣва <i>yes-va</i> .
स्यस् <i>s-thas</i> ,	ἐσ-τόν,	<i>es-ta</i> .	ѣта <i>yes-ta</i>
स्तस् <i>s-tas</i> ,	ἐσ-τόν,	like the Sing	ѣта <i>yes-ta</i>

PLURAL

स्मस् <i>s-mas</i> .	ἐσ-μές,	<i>es-me</i> ,	ѣмѣ <i>yes-my</i> .
स्य <i>s-tha</i>	ἐσ-τέ,	<i>es-te</i> ,	ѣте <i>yes-te</i> .
सन्ति <i>s-anti</i> ,	(σ)-εντί,	like the Sing.	ѣтъ <i>s-ity</i>

“Remark It is possible that the suppression of the radical vowel may have begun with the third person plural, whose termination *anti* is also the heaviest of all, and it may have existed in this position even before the migration of the language, and its manifold individualizations, at least, all the languages under comparison exhibit in this case a wonderful harmony scarcely attributable to chance and, in addition to these, the Latin *sunt*, as opposed

* By assimilation out of *ἐσ-μι*, as, before, *ἄμμες*, *ὕμμες*, out of *ἄσμες* *ὕσμες*. Vêda dialect *asmê*, *yashmê*

† Irregular for *as-si*, on which rest the Greek and Lithuanian forms. The Slavonic, however, has likewise dropped one of the sibilants

to *estis* as well as the Gothic *sind* are in accordance. On the other hand the dropping of the *e* in *sumus* first appears on Roman ground and in the singular likewise *sum* for *esum* is quite solitary. After the falling away of the initial and terminating vowels of *asmi* in the Latin the appendage of an auxiliary vowel became necessary and the influence of the liquids prevailed in favour of *u*. This *u* remained also in the plural where *smus* was possible but not favoured as the Latin has generally gone out of its way to avoid the immediate connection of the ending *mus* with roots ending in consonants whence we have *rolu mus* opposed to *vultu* *ferimus* to *feris* *feri fert* (Sanskrit *bibhri mas bibhri tha bi bhur ti bibhar ti* from *bhri* class 3) *ech mus* opposed to *echis* *es es t* (Sanskrit *ad mas at tha at si at ti*). To the Greek in the case of the third person plural *εσσι* if as I scarcely doubt it stands for *σ-εσσι* (= *Z* and *henti*), nothing has remained but the termination as in the Sanskrit in the second medial person *se* for *a(y) se*. The Gothic we have excluded from the above comparison although *im i s is t* rest upon *as mi a si as ti*, but in the plural *sind* alone is organic for *ay um* *ay-uth* Durl *ay-yd* (see § 111) *ay uti* have the ending of the preterite and belong to a secondary root *ay* which proceeds from a Sanskrit potential *aydm* in which *ay* (= *ai*) has changed itself to *ay*.

181 All Sanskrit roots of the third class in *d* (§ 109 3) depend on account of the anterior burthen created in the reduplication syllable on the influence of the weight of the personal endings so that they retain their *d* only before the light endings but before the heavier either altogether suppress or shorten it or transpose the length of the *d* sound into that of the lighter *i* and this is one of the evidences from which I deduce the maxim—very important for the history of language—that the organism of the lingual body sustains a greater weight in the *a* than in the *i*.

sounds, the long *ā* being heavier than the long *i*, and the short *a* heavier than the short *i* (see Vocalismus, Obser 12, p 214). The roots *dā*, "give," and *dhā*, "place," suppress their *ā* before heavy terminations, with exception of the third person plural, if, as I prefer, we make the division *dada-ti*, not *dad-atī* (compare § 458), for originally *daddā-nti* certainly stood, out of which we never could obtain *dad-nti*, but well might *dada-nti*, and, out of this, a new sacrifice to the reduplication syllable, *dada-ti*. The Greek only shortens the long vowel before the increasing terminations, and makes *ῑδο*, *τιθε*, *ῑστᾶ*, out of *ῑδω*, *τιθη*, *ῑστα*. In the Latin, Slavonic, and Lithuanian, the influence of the personal endings on the antecedent syllable has utterly vanished, and *dā* has also lost the original length of its vowel and the reduplication syllable. The Lithuanian and Slavonic have, on the other hand, saved their reduplication, but have absolutely suppressed the root vowel, which the Sanscrit only does before heavy terminations. As, however, the *d* also vanishes before endings which commence with *m* and *s* in Lithuanian also with *u* but before *t* passes into *s* (§ 457), the reduplication in these verbs is almost totally overlooked, and in *dūmi*, *дамь damy*, which are mutilations of *dū-dh-mi*, *da-dh-my*, the reduplication has, by thrusting out the most essential element of the entire form, acquired the appearance of a radical syllable. It is, however, certain, that in *dūmi*, *damy*, the syllables *dū*, *da*, are identical with those of *dū-s-ti*, *da-s-ty*, for *dū-d-ti*, *da-d-ty*, thus merely reduplicators.*

* We here confirm the observations of § 442, Obs 7. In *dūdu*, according to the usual conjugation, *dūd* has constituted itself as root, and the *a* of *dūd-a-wa*, *dūd-a-me*, has thus nothing more to do with the *ā* of the Sanscrit *dadāmi*, or the *ω*, *ο* of the Greek *ῑδωμι*, *ῑδομεν*, but belongs to a class with the *a* of *wēz-a-wa*, *wēz-a-me*.

SINGULAR

ANSKRIT	ZEND	GREEK	LITH	OLD SLAV	LATIN
<i>dadu mī</i>	<i>dadha mī</i>	διδωμι	<i>du(d) mī</i>	<i>da(d) my</i>	<i>do</i>
<i>dada si</i>	<i>dadha hi</i>	διδως	<i>du(d) i</i>	<i>da(d) si</i>	<i>da s</i>
<i>dadā ti</i>	<i>dadhui ti</i>	διδω-τι	<i>dus ti</i>	<i>das ty</i>	<i>dat</i>

DUAL

<i>dad vas</i>			<i>du(d) wa</i>	<i>dad e va</i>	
<i>dat thus</i>	<i>das tō²¹</i>	δίδο τον	<i>das ta</i>	<i>das tu</i>	
<i>dat tav</i>	<i>das tō²²</i>	δίδο-τον	like Sing	<i>das ta</i>	

PLURAL

<i>dud mas</i>	<i>dad e mahi³</i>	δίδο μες	<i>du(d) mē</i>	<i>da(d)-my</i>	<i>da mus</i>
<i>dat tha</i>	<i>das ta²⁴</i>	δίδο τε	<i>dus-te</i>	<i>das te</i>	<i>da tis</i>
<i>dadu ti</i>	<i>dade nti⁵</i>	δίδο ντι	like Sing	<i>dad yaty</i>	<i>da nt</i>

In the Greek the influence of the weight of the personal ending over the root syllable has penetrated further than in Sanskrit in this respect that even the aorist forms set free from reduplication *ἔθην* and *ἔδων* have shortened their vowel before the increasing ending while *ἔστην* (= *εστην*) in accordance with similar Sanskrit aorist forms allows no influence to the weight of the endings. In Sanskrit from the first augmented preterite *adadā m* comes the plural *adad ma* as in Greek *ἐδίδο μιν* from *ἐδίδω ν* but from *adam* comes not *adma* but the root remains undiminished. It may be convenient to give here in full the two augmented preterites which are distinguished in the two languages by retaining and laying aside the reduplication syllable

¹ If also the second dual person in Zend is not yet identified it can nevertheless be deduced with tolerable certainty from the third person which is extant in *t* (§ 464) for which in the second person of the primary forms, we may expect *thō* the aspirate of which however has been forced to vanish in *𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀 dist* (see § 453). Upon *as* for *ad* see § 10. See § 102. ² § 30. ³ § 102 and § 403.

SINGULAR	DUAL	PIURAI
<i>adadâ-m</i> , ἐδίδω-ν,	<i>adad-va</i> ,	<i>adad-ma</i> , ἐδίδο-μες
<i>adadâ-s</i> , ἐδίδω-ς,	<i>adat-tam</i> , ἐδίδο-τον,	<i>adat-la</i> , ἐδίδο-τε,
<i>adadâ-t</i> , ἐδίδω-(τ),	<i>adal-tâm</i> , ἐδιδό-την,	<i>adad-us</i> , ἐδίδο-ν,
<i>adâ-m</i> , ἔδω-ν,	<i>adâ-va</i> ,	<i>adâ-ma</i> , ἔδο-μες,
<i>adâ-s</i> , ἔδω-ς,	<i>adâ-tam</i> , ἔδο-τον,	<i>adâ-la</i> , ἔδο-τε,
<i>adâ-t</i> , ἔδω-τ,	<i>adâ-tâm</i> , ἐδό-την,	<i>ad-us</i> ,* ἔδο-ν

482 The Sanscrit roots *hâ*, "leave,"† *hâ*, "go," and *mâ*, "measure" (compare μέ-τρον, μίχομαι, &c) the two last have the medial, the first only the pure active form weaken, before most of the heavy endings, then *â* to *i*, and the two last substitute also, in their reduplication syllable, a short *i* for short *a*, for instance, *jahî-mas*, "we leave," opposed to *jahâ-mi*, "I leave", *mimé* (from *mimî-mâ*), "I measure," *mimî-mahé*, "we measure" The roots *sthâ*, "stand," and *ghlâ*, "smell," follow a peculiar path, inasmuch as a vowel shortening, which probably at its origin, as in the Greek ἵσταμι, ἵσταμεν, only obtained before heavy endings, has extended itself to the other persons through which the radical *a*, thus shortened, would be treated just like the unradical of the first and sixth class (109^a 1) The Indian grammarians thence reckon these roots as under the first class, although they assume a reduplication syllable, which, however, substitutes an *i* for *a*, as I doubt not, on the ground that the reduplication syllable, which is seeking generally for relief from weight, and therefore, converting long into short vowels, may not mix up the heaviest among the short vowels with the length derived from position, hence, *tishthâmi*, *tishthasi*, *tishthati* &c, Zend *histâmi*,

* See § 462

† Compare, with Pott, *χιρα*, "widow," as the "abandoned" or "left" In Sanscrit *vi-dhavâ* is "the manless"

hustasi hustati jighrāmi jighrasi jighrati &c The Greek follows this principle of the weakening of the vowel also where there is not as in the cases of *ιστημι κίχρημι* any immediate reason for it by the doubling of consonants. *Πιμπλημι* and *πιμπρημι* are however striking and peculiar in appending a nasal a stranger to the root to the reduplicating syllable. These forms however accord with the Sanscrit intensive verbs which love a great impression in the repeated syllable and hence change to the Guna letters the vowels susceptible of Guna but double the whole root in roots ending with nasals and in some cases also represent the liquids *r* and *l* by the nasal liquids which accord with the organ of the chief consonants for instance *jangam* * from *gam* "go" *chanchal* from *chal* "totter" *chanchur* (for *chanchar*) from *char* "go". In this sense I assume *πιμπρημι* *πιμπλημι* for *πιρρημι* *τιρλημι* thus also *βαμβανω* with the kindred form *βαμβαλω* (compare *balbut*)

483 The roots of the second class (§ 109 3) in Sanscrit do not load themselves with reduplication neither do they subject a concluding *ā* to the influence of the weight of the personal endings. The Greek however has here also again permitted a wider range to that influence inasmuch as *φημι* (*φάμι*) in this respect, follows the analogy of *ιστημι*. Compare—

SINGULAR		DUAL		PLURAL
<i>bhu mi</i>	<i>φα μι</i>	<i>bhā vas</i>		<i>bhā mas φα μες</i>
<i>bhu si</i>	<i>φη-ς</i>	<i>bhu thas</i>	<i>φα-τον</i>	<i>bhā tha φα-τε</i>
<i>bhu ti</i>	<i>φα-τι</i>	<i>bhā tas</i>	<i>φα-τοι</i>	<i>bhā-nti φᾶ ντι</i>
<i>abhā m</i>	<i>ἔφα ν</i>	<i>abhā va</i>		<i>abhā ma ἔφα μες</i>
<i>abhā s</i>	<i>ἔφα-ς</i>	<i>abhā tam</i>	<i>ἔφα-τον</i>	<i>abhā ta ἔφα-τε</i>
<i>abhā t</i>	<i>ἔφα-(τ)</i>	<i>abhā lām</i>	<i>εφα την</i>	<i>abhu n ἔφα ν</i>

* Compare with this the Gothic *gaggja* (= *ganga*) "I go" where the chief syllable has lost the nasal

This analogy is followed in Sanscrit, among other roots, by *yá*, "go," on which the Greek *ἵημι*, properly "make to go," rests, to which the syllable of reduplication has lent a causative signification, as to the Latin *sisto* opposed to *sto*, while the Greek *ἵστημι* (= *σίστημι*) unites the primitive with the causative signification. While in *ἵστημι* the spiritus asper, as it so often does, stands for *σ*, in *ἵημι* it is the representative of the lost semi-vowel *y*, as among others in *ὅς* for *ϣς yas*, "who" (§ 382.), thus, *ἵημι* for *yi-yημι*. On the other hand, compare the future discharged of the reduplication *ἥσω* with the Sanscrit *yá-syāmi*. Thus *ἵημι* still bends to the weight of the endings, thus *ἵεμες*, *ἵετε* opposed to *yá-mas*, *yá-tha*. To the root *yá*, I think with Pott (Etym. Forsch. p. 201), we must refer the middle of *εἶμι*, which itself belongs to the root *ἔ*, *ἔ*, "go," which in Greek, by analogy to *ἵμες*, should form *ἵμαι*, *ἵσαι*, *ἵται*, opposed to the Sanscrit *i-yê* (from *i-mê*), *i-shê*, *i-lê*. The form *ἵε-μαι*, however, explains itself out of *yá* by a vowel-ization of the semi-vowel, and thinning of the *α* to *ε*. In duly considering, what I think I have proved, that the personal endings exercise a more comprehensive influence on the preceding syllable in Greek than in Sanscrit, and that roots ending in vowels shorten one originally long before heavy endings, the verbs *ἵμαι* and *κέῖμαι* might surprise us, since in these the heavy medial endings have not shortened the antecedent vowel. Of *κέῖμαι* we shall treat hereafter, but *ἵμαι* owes the retention of the length of its vowel to the circumstance that its root was originally terminated by a consonant, and I have already, in my glossary, identified it with the Sanscrit *ás*, "sit," the *s* of which has remained in the Greek only before *τ*, hence *ἵσ-ται* = *अस्ते ás-té*, *ἵσ-το* = *अस्तé ás-ta*.* It accords, however, with the system of

* On the other hand, *εἶσα*, &c., belong to the root *ἔ* *ἔ* (*ἔ-πα*), Sanscrit *sad* (compare Pott, Etym. Forsch. p. 278 and Kuhner p. 242). The spiritus

equilibrium that *καθημαι* cannot bear the *σ* of *ῆσ-το* together with the burthen of the augment hence *καθῆσ-το* but *εκαθῆ-το*

484 The Sanscrit root *शस्* *sās* rule exhibits a peculiar capability for the weight of the personal endings inasmuch as its long *ā* remains undisturbed before those heavy endings which begin with the weakest consonants (semi vowels and nasals) thus *sās ias* we two rule *sās mas* we rule but before the strong consonants of heavy endings weakens itself to the shortness of the lightest vowel namely to *i* whence for instance *sīsh tha regitis* opposed to *sās-si regis* *sīs ti regit* We may recognise in this a forerunner of the German conjugation forms such as *bindo bindam bundum* opposed to the monosyllabic singular preterite *band bans t* p 108

485 The roots of the ninth class (§ 109 5) are so far in accordance with the principle of the roots *hā* and *mā* mentioned in § 482 in that they weaken to *i* the *ā* of the class syllable *nā* in the same places in which those roots experience the same relief in their radical syllable The Greek on the other hand shortens the long Doric *α* (*n*) to *α* Compare—

SINGULAR		DUAL	
<i>kri na mi</i> ¹	κρ ν α μι	<i>kri ni ias</i>	
<i>kri nu si</i>	κρ ν ι ᾱ ς	<i>kri ni thas</i>	κρ ν α -τοι
<i>kri nā ti</i>	κρ ν α τι	<i>kri ni tas</i>	κρ ν α -τον
<i>akri nā m</i>	εκρ ν ι ᾱ ι	<i>akri ni-ia</i>	
<i>akri nā s</i>	εκρ ν ι ᾱ ς	<i>akri ni tam</i>	εκρ ν ᾱ -τον
<i>akri nā t</i>	εκρ ν ι α (τ)	<i>akri ni tām</i>	εκρ ν α τη

spiritus of *i* is inorganic *i* *e* not from *σ* as for instance in *ωρ* opposed to *उद् u a unda*

PLURAL.

<i>kṛī-ṛī-nas.</i>	<i>ṛéṛ-ī-ā-ucṣ.</i>
<i>īṛī-ṛī-īha.</i>	<i>ṛéṛ-ī-ā-ṛe</i>
<i>kṛī-ṛī-nī.</i>	<i>(ṛéṛ-ī-ā-ṛi)</i>
<i>ṇīṛī-ṛī-ma.</i>	<i>ṛéṛṛ-ī-ā-mes.</i>
<i>āṛī-ṛī-īa.</i>	<i>ṛéṛṛ-ī-ā-ṛe</i>
<i>āṛī-ṛī-n²</i>	<i>(ṛéṛṛ-ī-ā-ṛi)</i>

𑖦𑖯𑖪𑖫𑖛𑖜𑖞𑖟𑖡𑖢𑖣. "I purchase." has *ṛ* for *n* in the middle syllable through the euphonic influence of the antecedent *ṛ*. The relationship to *ṛéṛ-ī-ā-ucṣ* rests on the favourite exchange between gutturals and labials, through which the Greek verb has assumed an apparent relationship to *ṛéṛ-ī-ā-ucṣ* "to sail through" (—Sanskrit *pārayāmi* where the *ṛ* is primitive). If we make the divisions *kṛī-ṛī-nī*, *īṛī-ṛī-īa* (§ 458) we must assume that the middle syllable suppresses its vowel before all those heavy endings which themselves begin with a vowel, thus also in the middle *kṛī-nī* from *īṛī-ṛī-nī*. For the special purposes of Sanscrit Grammar this rule may hold good; but in considering the historical development or decay of the language, I am more inclined to the belief that the syllable *nī* has shortened itself before *ṛi* and *n* (older *ni*) instead of converting itself into the long form of the lighter *ī* sound, in order to avoid combining length of vowel and position. The middle-dual endings *ṛīṛ*, *ṛīṛ*, *ṛīṛm*, *atṛm* did not require the weakening of the *nā* to *nī*, since without this, by the ordinary rule of sound, two homogeneous vowels melt into one long one: so that *īṛī-ṛīṛ* gives a lighter form than *nī-ṛīṛ*, which latter would give *ṛīṛ-ṛīṛ*, while from *nī-ṛīṛ* we get merely *nīṛṛ*.

456. With Sanscrit verbs of the second and third class with a radical vowel capable of Guna,* the influence of the weight of the personal endings is shewn in this, that Guna takes place before the light (§ 26), but before the heavy the pure radical vowel reappears. The same law

* The Sanscrit conjugation system only allows the Guna to short vowels before simple consonants, and to long at the end of roots. On the other hand, Guna never takes place in the middle of the roots where there is length by nature and position.

is respected by the Greek which however affords no example except that of *εἰμι* (§ 26) of a verb with a radical vowel capable of Gunā which in the special tenses (§ 109) connects the personal sign directly with the root. Compare—

SING.	DUAL.	PLURAL
ἐ μὶ εἶμι ἰ εἶμι	ἰ τας	ἰ μιν ἴμεν
ἐ σὺ εἶς	ἰ τας ἴ-τοῖ	ἰ τας ἴ-τε
ἐ τὶ εἶ-τι ἰ τας	ἴ-τοῖ	ἰ αὐτοὶ (from ἴ-αντι)

That the middle *εἶμαι* belongs to another root has been already remarked (p 676)

187 An exception from the law of gravity is found in the root *shu* class 2 (lie sleep) in that although only used in the middle despite the weak ending of the medial endings it everywhere exhibits Gunā in which respect the Greek *κείμαι* runs pretty parallel to the Sanscrit hence *κεῖ-σται* = *shē-shē* *κεῖ-ται* = *shē-tē* plural *κεῖ-μεθα* = *shē-mahē*. We might also present *ś* as the root for the Sanscrit verb as the pure vowel *i* nowhere appears and the construction also of the word exhibits no expression which made a root *si* necessary rather than *ś* unless perhaps we assumed *sita* cold in the sense of resting motionless and hence chose to derive it from *si*. The Old Slavonic exhibits the old diphthong *eu* in the shape presented by the Greek *κοιτη κοιμαω* in ποιεῖν *poi-ei* requires *pur* *. On the other hand *quies* *quiesco* has undergone a double weakening first that of *κ* to *ch* and next the thinning out of the diphthong to its concluding element. It must not be overlooked that *ποιοι* is not the primitive shape of the base but *po-loyo* out of which in the uninflected nominative and accusative after suppression of the final vowel of the base (§ 23) *po-loi* necessarily came

* Kopitar's Clagolita 1 88

the theme *pokoyo*, however, accords excellently with Sanscrit *śaya*, as the adjective “lying,” “sleeping,” or as the substantive “sleep”

488 The roots of the fifth and eighth class admit the Guna form of the ऋ *u* of the class syllable *nu* or *u* before the light terminations, and, before the heavy, reject the same vowel the Greek sanctions the same principle, only, instead of extending *u* into *cu*, it lengthens the *u* Compare

SINGULAR.		DUAL	
<i>stiri-no-mi</i> , *	στόρ-νῦ-μι	<i>stiri-nu-vas</i> ,	.
<i>stiri-no-shi</i> ,	στόρ-νῦ-ς	<i>stiri-nu-thas</i> ,	στόρ-νῦ-τον
<i>stiri-nó-ti</i> ,	στόρ-νῦ-τι	<i>stiri-nu-tas</i> ,	στόρ-νῦ-τον
<i>astiri-nav-am</i> ,	ἄστορ-νῦ-ν.	<i>astiri-nu-va</i> ,	. . .
<i>astiri-nó-s</i> ,	ἔστορ-νῦ-ς	<i>astiri-nu-tam</i> ,	ἔστορ-νῦ-τον
<i>astiri-nó-ti</i> ,	ἔστορ-νῦ-(τ)	<i>astiri-nu-tám</i> ,	ἔστορ-νῦ-την,

PLURAL

<i>stiri-nu-mas</i> ,	στόρ-νῦ-μες
<i>stiri-nu-tha</i> ,	στόρ-νῦ-τε.
<i>stiri-nu-anti</i> ,	στορ-νῦ-ντι
<i>astiri-nu-ma</i> ,	ἔστορ-νῦ-μες
<i>astiri-nu-ta</i> ,	ἔστορ-νῦ-τε
<i>astiri-nu-an</i> ,	(ἔστορ-νῦ-ν)

489 The Sanscrit reduplicated preterite receives guna before the light endings, and restores the pure root vowel again before the heavy In this the German, and most evidently in the Gothic, stands in closest accordance with the Sanscrit, inasmuch as all verbs, with a root vowel

* The grammarians assume a root स्तृ *stiri* and another स्तृ *stī*, both of which signify “strew,” and have, properly, for their root syllable *stan* = Greek ΣΤΟΡ, Latin *STER*, the *a* of which is subject to suppression (Vocalismus, Obs I p 157, and on the root in question, especially, l c p 179

susceptible of Gunā (i e with i or u) insert before this in the singular of the simple (strong) preterite the original Gunā vowel *a* but before the increasing endings of the plurals is also in the entire conjunctive which is burdened by the exponent of the mood and also in the singular polysyllabic again reject the foreign strengthening vowel Compare—

SANSKRIT ROOT	GOTHIC ROOT	SANSKRIT ROOT	GOTHIC ROOT
<i>bhūd</i> to split	<i>bit</i> to bite	<i>bhuy</i> to bend	<i>bug</i> to bend
SINGULAR	SINGULAR	SINGULAR	SINGULAR
<i>bībheda</i>	<i>baht</i>	<i>bubhōja</i>	<i>baug</i>
<i>bībhēdutha</i>	<i>baist</i>	<i>bubhōjutha</i>	<i>baugt</i>
<i>bībhēda</i>	<i>baht</i>	<i>bubhōja</i>	<i>baug</i>
DUAL	DUAL	DUAL	DUAL
<i>bībhūdiva</i>	<i>bitu</i>	<i>bubhūjva</i>	<i>bugu</i>
<i>bībhūdathus</i>	<i>bituts</i>	<i>bubhūjathus</i>	<i>bugut</i>
<i>bībhūdatus</i>		<i>bubhūjatus</i>	
PLURAL	PLURAL	PLURAL	PLURAL
<i>bībhūdīma</i>	<i>bitum</i>	<i>bubhūjīma</i>	<i>bugum</i>
<i>bībhūda(tha)</i>	<i>bituth</i>	<i>bubhūja(tha)</i>	<i>buguth</i>
<i>bībhūdus</i>	<i>bitun</i>	<i>bubhūjus</i>	<i>bugun</i>

490 On the law of gravity rests also the phenomenon that those Gothic roots ending in two consonants which without protecting the reduplication have preserved a radical *a* in the singular of the preterite weaken this down to *u* before the heavy plural and dual endings and those of the whole conjunctive (Vocalismus Obs 16 p 22.) The Sanscrit exhibits a remarkable counterpart to this phenomenon which had not come under my notice in my earlier treatment of the theory of gravity and is here for the first time considered in this point of view—I mean the root *kar* make which—not indeed in the redupli

eated preterite, but still in the special tenses before heavy endings, and in the whole potential, which answers to the Gothic conjunctive weakens its *a* to *u*, and only before light endings retains the heavy *a* sound. Hence *karômi*, "I make," stands in equal relation to *kurumas* or *kurmas*, "we make," and to *kuryâm*, "I might make," as, in Gothic, *band* to *bundum*, and *bundjau*. We place here the Gothic preterite *band* in the same category with the Sanscrit *babhandha*, which everywhere leaves its vowel unaltered, and with *karômi* as regards the change of vowel.

SINGULAR

DUAL

SANSKRIT	GOthic	SANSKRIT	SANSKRIT	GOthic	SANSKRIT
<i>babandha</i> ,	<i>band</i> ,	<i>karômi</i> ,	<i>babandhiva</i> ,	<i>bundû</i> ,	<i>kurumas</i>
<i>babandhitha</i> ,	<i>banst</i> ,	<i>karôshi</i> ,	<i>babandhathus</i> ,	<i>bunduts</i> ,	<i>kuruthâs</i>
<i>babandha</i> ,	<i>band</i> ,	<i>karôti</i>	<i>babandhatus</i> ,		<i>kurutas</i>

PLURAL

<i>babandhuma</i> ,	<i>bundum</i> ,	<i>kurumas</i>
<i>babandha(tha)</i> ,	<i>bunduth</i> ,	<i>kurutha</i>
<i>babandhus</i> ,	<i>bundun</i> ,	<i>kurvanti</i>

POTENTIAL

SINGULAR

DUAL

PLURAL

Sanskrit	GOthic	Sanskrit	GOthic	Sanskrit	GOthic
<i>kuryâm</i> ,	<i>bundjau</i> ,	<i>kuryâva</i> ,	<i>bundeiva</i> ,	<i>kuryâma</i> ,	<i>bundeima</i>
<i>kuryâs</i> ,	<i>bundeis</i> ,	<i>kuryâtam</i> ,	<i>bundeits</i> ,	<i>kuryâta</i> ,	<i>bundeith</i>
<i>kuryât</i> ,	<i>bundî</i> ,	<i>kuryâtâm</i> ,	. .	<i>kuryus</i> ,	<i>bundeima</i> .

o

"Remark 1. As all verbs which follow the analogy of *band* have a liquid for their penultimate consonant, and liquids have a preference for the vowel *u*, we may attribute to them here an influence on the generation of the *u* it remains, however, not the less true, that the conditions under which, in the foregoing scheme, *a* and *u* are interchanged, rest only on the laws of gravity, and on a

maxim sufficiently as I believe demonstrated in my *Vocalismus* (p 227) that the weight of the *u* is more easily supported by these languages than that of *a*. For were this not so it were difficult to see why exactly in the monosyllabic singular the old *a* was protected and why the condition of monosyllabism is so enforced in the preservation of the *a* that in Old High German where the second person singular is designated by *i* instead of *t** and also in the form which becomes dissyllabic the lighter *u* should give way to the heavier *a* and thus *lundi* of the first and third person stands in contrast to *bundi* and to the Gothic second *banti*. In like sense may in the Sanscrit form *kar* exchanged for *kar* a certain share be attributed to the liquid in the generation of the *u* while the distribution between the *a* and *u* forms depends on the weight of the endings alone. Beyond the range however of the special tenses the root *kar* in the forms which seek for alleviation dispenses entirely with the *a* so that the *r* becomes the vowel *ri*. The mutilated form *kri* thus produced—as, for instance in *krita* made opposed to *kar tum* make—is considered by the grammarians as the original and this holds good in analogous cases—a view which I have in my *Vocalismus* endeavoured to demonstrate as historically unsustainable in the first Observation of that work. In special Sanscrit grammars, this system may be maintained—a *kar* may still pass for a Guna form of *kri*—as also we may be compelled to treat the *a* of the Gothic *bundi* as the Guna form of *i* in *bundi* as we must if reversing the real historical course of the language, we recognise in the singular *a* of the preterite a first and in the plural a conjunctive *u* of the preterite a second *ablaut* of the *i* of the present *binda*.

* For the origin of this *i* I refer to my *Vocalismus* p. 7

"Remark 2 It may appear surprising that these Gothic verbs with a radical *a*, which, in the preterite, have protected the old reduplication, do not equally weaken their *a* to *u* before the heavy endings, that, for instance, *harhald*, in the plural, should form, not *harhuldum*, but *harhaldum*, although the root has equally a liquid for its penultimate, and we might imagine that the burthening of the root by reduplication would occasion still more susceptibility for the weight of the endings, as we have seen, in Sanscrit, that the reduplicating roots of the third class in *ā* either weaken or totally remove that vowel before the heavy endings (§ 181), but the non-reduplicators experience no diminution. With the Gothic reduplication of the preterite we find in this a peculiar relation it can only be borne by the strongest radical structure, and has hence only been perpetuated, first, by verbs with a long or diphthongal radical vowel, as *hārhait*, 'I was named,' present *haita*, *hlailaup*, 'I ran,' present *hlaupa*, secondly, by roots with the heaviest of the short vowels (*a*), united with length by position, for instance, *vanald*, 'I directed,' present *valda*[†]. Under these conditions, it was a necessity of the language to retain the reduplication of the root in all its strength, and by this the weakening of the *a* to *u* was provided against."

491 The Greek exhibits the Guna modification of the *ι* in two forms, namely, where the original *a* sound is represented either by *ε* or *ο*, but *αι* never becomes the counterpart of the Sanscrit *ē* in roots in which diphthongs are exchanged with a pure *ι*[†]. Where, however, *ει* and *οι*, next to *ι*, are exchanged

[†] *Faifah*, from the base *fah*, "to seize," and *harhah*, from *hah*, "to hang," make an exception, but appear, on the evidence of cognate dialects, to have lost a nasal

† Vocalismus, Obs 2 p 193

with each other in one and the same root then *oi* as the heavier of the two Gunas takes its place in the perfect where also frequently the simple *o* is opposed to the simple *e* hence for instance *λελοιπα* opposed to *λειπω ελιπον πεποιθα* to *πειθω επιθoi* as *τετροφα* to *τρεφω*. Thus *oi* answers to the Gothic Guna through *a* and *ei* to that through *i* (§ 27) and *πειθω* and *πεποιθα* are related to each other as *beita* (1 e *būta* from *būta* p 105) to *bait* from the root *bit* then also *τρεφω* to *τετροφα* as *lisa* to *las* from the root *LAS* (p 106) It appears also thus that the Greek bears more willingly the burthen of a stronger than of a weaker root syllable The susceptibility of the weight of endings has however almost entirely vanished from the Greek perfect A remnant of it is still found in *οἶδα* opposed to the Sanscrit *veda* I know and the Gothic *vait**—in all three languages *v* present as to sense with the terminations of the reduplicated preterite Yet the Sanscrit verb in this signification dispenses with the reduplication and so does the Greek for *οἶδα* for *φοῖδα* is merely the Guna of the root (*F*)*ḍ* Compare—

SANSKRIT	GOOTHIC	GREEK
वेद <i>véd a</i>	<i>vait</i>	οἶδ <i>α</i>
वेत्थ <i>vet tha</i>	<i>vais t</i>	οἶσθα (see § 453)
वेद <i>véd da</i>	<i>vait</i>	οἶο <i>c</i>
विदिव <i>vid i va</i>	<i>vit ū</i>	
विदयुस <i>vid a thus</i>	<i>vit u ts</i>	ιστοι
विदगुस <i>vid a tus</i>		ἴστων
विदिम <i>vid i ma</i>	<i>vit u m</i>	ιδμεν
विद(य) <i>vid a tha</i>	<i>vit u th</i>	ιστε
विदुस <i>vid us</i> (see § 462)	<i>vit u n</i>	ισασι

* In the case of this verb our present language has preserved the operation of the influence of the endings hence *wissen wisset wisse* against *weiss weisst weiss* while elsewhere the plural has everywhere made itself equal in weight to the singular

“Remark The Sanscrit base *vid* is not without a proper present $\text{अस्मि } v\acute{e}dm\acute{u}$, the plural of which, *vid-mas*, *vit-tha*, *vid-anti*, might have equally given, in Greek, ἴδμεν , ἴστε , ἴσασι (from ἴδαντι , p 640), as also out of the duals *vit-thas*, *vit-tas*, we could hardly obtain in Greek any thing other than ἴστων . The present forms resemble the Greek much more than those of the preterite. Nevertheless, I am not of opinion that the Greek plural and dual endings can belong to the present in their origin, for the intermediate vowel *a*, whose rejection gives to ἴδμεν the appearance of a present (compare ἔσμεν), is no essential element of the perfect, and is wanting, among other instances, in εἴκτων , which, moreover, through the restoration of the pure radical vowel, bears the same relation to έοικε , as ἴστων to οἶδε . We shall recur to this subject.”

492. After what we have hitherto remarked on the laws of gravity, it becomes scarcely necessary to quote instances to shew which are the light terminations, and which the heavy. It is self-evident that the dual and plural endings have more body and compass than the singular of the transitive active form, and that in the middle voice the weight of endings communicates itself also to the singular, for $\mu\alpha\iota$, $\sigma\alpha\iota$, $\tau\alpha\iota$, are obviously richer in sound than $\mu\iota$, $\sigma(\iota)$, $\tau\iota$ in the same manner, in the secondary forms, $\mu\eta\nu$, $\sigma\sigma$, $\tau\sigma$, are heavier than ν , σ , (τ) . We have, however, to observe, that several terminations, originally heavy, but which have, in the course of time, become abbreviated, have nevertheless left behind them the effect of their former state. This is the case especially in the Sanscrit, in which the middle *abibhr-i* (see p 461) is much weaker in its termination than the transitive *abibhar-am*, so that, according to the present state of the language, we should rather expect *abibhr-am* answering to *abibhar-i* than the reverse. The second person plural of the transitive reduplicate preterite, like the first and third of the singular, has lost the true personal sign, and retained only the

intermediate vowel Nevertheless we find above *vida* “ye know” answering to the singular *iēda* “I know” “he knows” In the second person plural of the primary forms *tha* is in its present state heavier than the singular *si* as *a* is heavier than *i* and the Sanscrit aspirates are evident combinations of an *h* with the full tennues or media (§ 12) In Greek all the terminations (if we except, perhaps the relation of *τε* to *θα* as in *ἴσ τε* contrasted with *οἶσ θα*) which I reckon heavy have still in their actual state more weight than those which according to the theory which has been brought forward belong to the light class Compare—

LIGHT END

III AND ENDING

<i>mi</i>	μι	<i>ias mas ē calē mahē</i>	μεις μαι μεθαι μεθα
<i>si</i>	σι(ι)	<i>thas tha sē āthē die</i>	τοι τε σαι σθαι σθαι
<i>ti</i>	τι	<i>tas nti tē ātē ntē</i>	τον ντι σθον νται
<i>m(am)</i>	ν	<i>ia ma a i* calu mahi</i>	μεις μην μεθον μεθα
<i>s</i>	ς	<i>lam la thās āthām dhvam</i>	τον τε σο σθαι σθαι
<i>t</i>	(τ)	<i>tām n(an) ta ātām nta (ata) tyn (των) i to sthyn (σθων)</i>	

VTO

DIVISION OF CONJUGATIONS

493 Sanscrit verbs admit of an easy distribution into two conjugations the first—which if not the oldest existed before the separation of languages and is almost alone represented in the European cognate languages—comprehends the great majority of all the verbs viz classes 1 1 6 10 (§ 109) which in the special tenses annex to the root a simple *a* (cl 1 and 6) or syllables which terminate with *a* viz *ya* and *aya* (cl 1 and 10) This conjugation is followed also as will hereafter appear by nearly all derivative verbs and by all denominatives In Greek the conjugation in *ω* corresponds to it in which too much stress must not be laid on the *ω* answering to the Sanscrit *mi* for

* See § 411

if the μ is restored to the $\tauέρπω$, compared above (§ 434) with $tarp-\hat{a}-mi$, and if $\tauέρπεις$, $\tauέρπει$, are carried back to the forms $\tauέρπ-ε-σι$, $\tauέρπ-ε-τι$, which, in all probability, once existed, still this verb, and all of similar construction, remain sufficiently distinguished from all classes of the so-called μ conjugation, which does not contain any verbs that insert between the root and the personal terminations an c which is interchanged with o , or larger syllables terminating with this vowel. The second Sanscrit conjugation separates, like the Greek, into three divisions. It takes first, those verbs which append the personal terminations direct to the base (Cl 2, 3, 7), as $\acute{e}-mi = \acute{c}\hat{i}-\mu i$, $dud\acute{a}-mi = \acute{d}\hat{i}\delta\omega\mu i$, $yunaj-mi$, “*jungo*,” plural yun_j-mas , “*jungimus*” (§ 109^a 3), to which there is no analogy in Greek, secondly, verbs with nu or u , in Greek ν , u , as the intermediate syllable, thirdly, those with $n\acute{i}$ (weakened $n\hat{i}$), in Greek $\nu\acute{\alpha}$ ($\nu\eta$), $\nu\check{\alpha}$ (see pp 109, 677). All these divisions are, in Sanscrit as in Greek, subjected to the influence of the weight of the personal terminations, while the first conjugation is free from it. Other peculiarities will be presented hereafter, in which the Sanscrit and Greek second conjugation coincide with one another, and are distinguished from the first conjugation.

494 The Greek first conjugation contains a greater variety of subdivisions than the Sanscrit, which consists of only four classes. This, however, has no influence on the inflection, since $\tauέρπ-ο-μεν^*$ is inflected just like $\acute{\tau}\acute{y}\pi-το-μεν$, $\acute{\delta}\acute{\alpha}\kappa-νο-μεν$, $\acute{i}\zeta-\acute{\alpha}\nuο-μεν$, $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta-\acute{\alpha}\nuο-μεν$, $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma-σο-μεν$, $\delta\alpha\mu-\acute{\alpha}\zetaο-μεν$, $\acute{\omega}\theta-\acute{i}\zetaο-μεν$, as it is the same, with regard to the conjugation, whether the formation, which is added to the base, consists simply of one c , which, before nasals, is replaced by o , or of syllables which terminate with this vowel, as, in San-

* I give the plural, as the abbreviation of the singular primary termination renders the character of formation not easily perceptible

scrit the formations *a ya* and *aya* are inflected similarly for this very reason that they all end in *a*. It appears to me however wrong to separate in Greek the consonants from their vowels and in *τυπτομεν* to add first a *τ* and then a conjunctive vowel *ο* while according to the course of the development of the language the base *τυπ* in the special tenses combines with the syllable *τε* or *το* *δακ* with *ιε* or *ιο* and *λαβ* with *αιε* or *αιο*. The addition of a bare consonant or of a syllable terminating with a consonant would have been too cumbersome for the conjugation *a τυπ-τ μεν* or *δακ ν μεν* can never have existed. But if we are right in dividing thus *δεικ ν-μεν* and do not regard the *ν* merely as the element of formation and the *ν* as the conjunctive vowel there is no reason to distribute *τυπτομεν* according to a different principle. What the syllable *το* is in the latter verb the syllable *νν* is in the former. For this reason I cannot admit that mode of distinguishing the conjugation in *ω* from that in *μν* which consists in terming the latter with a conjunctive vowel as the *μν* conjugation also though not in all the classes of which it consist has syllables of conjunction if they are to be so called that are inserted in *δεικ νν-μεν* *δακ νν μεν* between the base and the personal termination.

19c It is hardly possible to state any thing satisfactory regarding the origin of these syllables. It appears to me most probable that the majority of them are pronouns through which the action or quality which is expressed in the root in *abstracto* becomes something concrete e.g. the expression of the idea to love becomes the expression of the person who loves. This person however is more closely defined by the personal termination whether it be I thou or he. Proceeding from this point of view we may regard the character of the Sanscrit ninth class *nd* (§ 109 5) = Greek *να νη να*, as the lengthening of the pronominal base *ἤ na* (§ 369) and

nu = Greek *vu*, as the weakening of this *na*, as, in the interrogative, together with *la* the forms *ku* and *li* occur. The *u* of the eighth class is easily perceived to be the abbreviation of the syllable *nu*, which arises from the circumstance that the few roots of this class terminate with *m*, thus *tan-u-mas* for *tan-nu-mas*. The sole exception is *lii*, "to make," which, however, as may be deduced from the Zend *k̥r̥ē-nāo-mi*, likewise had *n* originally before the appended *u*. From *nā* it seems that *ān* has arisen by transposition, which is further combined with the character *a* of the first or sixth class, and belongs to the first conjugation, but it occurs only in the second person imperative singular of the transitive active form of the ninth class, in which the first conjugation is without the personal termination, hence, *aś-āna*, "eat," answering to the first person *aś-nāmi*, and the third *aś-nātu*. Thus *aś-āna* would lead us to expect a present *aś-ānā-mi*, *aś-āna-si*, *aś-āna-ti*, for *aś-nā-mi*, &c. The circumstance that the Vēda dialect has not preserved forms of that kind, affords no certainty that they have never existed, for although several other ancient forms of speech have been preserved in the Vēda dialect, still it is very far from having retained, in their perfect state, all that existed at the period of the unity of language, *e g* there are no middle forms in *mē* for the abbreviated *ē*. But if the Sanscrit, in its formations in *āna*, actually took its departure from the second person imperative, where it also remained, the Greek has completed the formation thus commenced, for I have scarce any doubt that forms like *aś-āna* are the prototypes of the Greek ἔφαγε, ἔδραβε, &c. Both languages agree in their conjugational addition almost as exactly as possible, for a Greek *α* refers rather to a Sanscrit long *ā* than to a short one, as *α* is more frequently represented by *e* than by *o*. For the rest, the original length of quantity is still left in *ικάνω*. In

Lithuanian verbs in *enu* and *inu* and also those with doubled *n* *innu* belong to this class though they retain the nasal also in the future and infinitive which verbs in *nu* of which hereafter do not *e g gab enu* I bring *gad inu* I destroy future *gaben su gadin su* (§ 10) infinitive *gabenti gadinti*

496 If in the Sanscrit seventh class (§ 109³) that form which appears before light terminations is older than that which occurs before heavy ones *e g bhi na d* from *bhi nad mi* I cleave older than *bhi n d* from *bhi-nd mas* we cleave then it might be assumed as I am much inclined to do that this syllable *na* is nothing else than the syllable *nd* of the ninth class which has been transposed into the interior of the root and abbreviated thus *bhinadmi* for *bhidnāmi* as *bhid* would form according to the ninth class. In Greek verbs like λαμβαιω και θανω both forms occur together and in them the nasal of derivation has a second time been reflected into the middle of the root just as in Zend an *i* or *y* imparts to the preceding syllable also an *i* (§ 41) It has been already remarked (§ 169 5) that verbs like δακνομι τεμιομι by weakening the syllable of derivation *i e* by changing the organic *α* of δαμιαμεν for the unorganic *e* or *o* have entered into the *ω* conjugation. Here belongs also the Latin formation *ni* (before *r ne*) of *ster-ni-mus cer ni mus sper ni mus li ni mus si ni mus*. Compare for instance *ster ni mus* with स्तृणीमस् *stri ni mas* but the resemblance must not be rated too high for the Latin *ni* is not a shortened form of the Sanscrit *ni* (see § 48.) but a weakened as *leg i mus* for *leg a mus* (§ 109 1) In Old Slavonic correspond verbs in *nu neshi* which reject this appended syllable in the preterite *e g рыиш gyb nū pereo* second person *gyb-ne-shi* preterite *gy boch* (Dobr p 355) in Lithuanian correspond verbs in *ni* plural *na me* which though sparingly are retained in roots in

au (Mielke, p 101, 25), *e g* *gáu-nu*, "I avow," plural *gáu-na-me*, preterite *gawau*, future *gausu* Compare

GREEK	OLD SLAV	LITHUAN	LATIN	SANSKRIT
ἰάκ-νω,	<i>gyb-nû</i> , ¹	<i>gáu-nu</i> , ²	<i>ster-no</i> -'	<i>stir-nâ-mi</i> .
ἰάκ-νει-ς,	<i>gyb-ne-shu</i> ,	<i>gáu-n'-i</i> ,	<i>ster-ni-s</i> ,	<i>stir-nâ-si</i> .
ἰάκ-νε-(τ)ι,	<i>gyb ne-ti</i> ,	<i>gáu-na</i> -'	<i>ster-ni-t</i> ,	<i>stir-nâ-ti</i> .
.	<i>gyb-ne-va</i> ,	<i>gáu-na-va</i> ,		<i>stir-nî-vas</i>
ἰάκ-νε-τον,	<i>gyb-ne-ta</i> ,	<i>gáu-na-ta</i> ,		<i>stir-nî-thas</i>
ἰάκ-νε-τον,	<i>gyb-ne-ta</i> ,	<i>gáu-na</i> -'		<i>stir-nî-tas</i>
ἰάκ-νο-μεν,	<i>gyb-ne-m</i> ,	<i>gáu-na-me</i> ,	<i>ster-ni-mus</i> ,	<i>stir-nî-mas</i>
ἰάκ-νε-τε,	<i>gyb-ne-te</i> ,	<i>gáu-na-te</i> ,	<i>ster-ni-tis</i> ,	<i>stir-nî-tha</i>
ἰάκ-νο-ντι,	<i>gyb-nû-ti</i> , ¹	<i>gáu-na</i> -'	<i>ster-nu-nti</i> ,	<i>stir-na-nti</i> .

¹ Here an entirely legitimate division is impossible, since the personal termination has likewise a share in the *û* of derivation, its nasal being contained in it see § 255 *g* ² See p. 609

497 The addition *τε, το* (τύπ-το-μεν, τύπ-τε-τε), appears peculiar to Greek, which, however, except πέκτω, τίκτω, occurs only after labials. Its *τ* is, perhaps, a corruption of *ν*, as elsewhere, also, we have seen mutes proceed from nasals of corresponding organ, *e g* βροτός from μορός, in Lithuanian and Slavonic *dewyni*, ДЕВЯТЫ *devyaty* (§ 317), from *newyni*, *nevyaty*, and (which comes tolerably near to the case in question) the Greek suffix *ματ*, used in the formation of words, corresponds to a formation in *n* in the kindred languages, *e g* ὀνοματ answers to the Sanscrit *nâman*, Latin *nomen*, to the Gothic *namô*, *namun-s*, and Slavonic *имѧ* *mya*, genitive *имене* *imen-e* (§ 269). In Sanscrit, also, we must remark that the *n* is replaced by the tenuis of its organ, since, for instance, from *han*, "to slay," comes the causal *ghât-ayâ-mi* for *hân-ayâ-mi*. If, then, the *τ* of τύπ-το-μεν, κρύπ-το-μεν, &c, stands in this manner for *ν*, then these verbs, just as those in *νο-μεν, νε-τε*

(§ 109 5) lead back to the Sanscrit ninth class. But if the τ is organic which is less probable then according to the principle laid down in § 495 the syllable $\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\omicron$ leads to the pronominal base $\tau\omicron$ = Sanscrit πta (§ 343)

498 In Lithuanian there are some verbs which resemble Greek verbs like $\tau\upsilon\pi\tau\omega$ in this point that they insert between the root and the personal termination an additional syllable beginning with t and terminating with a vowel though they reject it again in the preterite which answers to the Greek imperfect and in which the class syllables are still retained. Thus *klys-tu* (euphonic for *klyd tu* compare § 457) plural *klys ta me* preterite *klyd au* future *kly su* as *epet* $\sigma\omega$ for *epetd* $\sigma\omega$ *plus tu* (for *plud tu*)

I swim (compare *plu* p 114) plural *plus ta me* preterite *plud au* *losz tu* I am petulant plural *losz ta me* preterite *loszau* *mirsz tu* I forget * plural *mirsz ta-me* preterite *mirsz au*, *plysz tu* I tear to pieces plural *plysz ta me* preterite *plysz au*. Some verbs prefix to the t a nonradical s also for which the way is perhaps prepared by cases in which a sibilant or a d which changes into s is already in the root or because st is in general a favourite termination (compare § 94) as *rim stu* I am quiet (Sanskrit *vi ram* to rest) plural *rim sta-me* preterite *rimm au* future *rim su*

499 I believe a pronominal origin must be ascribed also to the ϵo of verbs like $\tau\epsilon\rho\pi o \mu\epsilon\nu$ $\tau\epsilon\rho\pi \epsilon \tau\epsilon$ which is usually called a conjunctive vowel for the ϵa which answers to it in Sanscrit is deducible from a pronominal base more easily than any other conjugational adjunct and it proceeds in fact from the base from which we have above seen *a smdt* to this *a smdt* from this *a-sya* of this and *a smin* in this proceed. For a mere conjunctive vowel a as the heaviest of the three primary

* Compare Sanscrit *sma* (*smrs*) to remember Vocali mus p 164

vowels, appears to me least of all adapted. and I think that the origin of conjunctive vowels, which are inserted between two consonants to facilitate pronunciation belongs to a later period of the language than that to which the coincidences of the Sanscrit with its European cognate languages conducts us back. The *अ* *a* in question however, coincides with the Gothic *a* which is interchanged with *i*, with the Greek *e* interchangeable with *o*, Old Slavonic *ѣ* *e*, Lithmanian *a*, and Latin *i* (§ 109^a. 1), *е*, in the second person dual, *अथ* *a-tha*, answering to the Gothic *uþ-a-ts*, Greek *ἐχ-ε-το*, Old Slavonic *иѣ-ѣ-тъ*, Lithuanian *ac'-a-tà*; second person plural *अथ* *a-tha*, answering to the Greek *ἐχ-ε-τε*, Old Slavonic *иѣ-ѣ-те*, Lithuanian *ac'-a-tà*, Latin *ich-i-tis*, Gothic *uþ-i-th*. The case is different with the lightest of the primary vowels *i*, with which we shall hereafter become acquainted in considering the Sanscrit auxiliary future. No analogous vowel can be assigned to this *i* in the kindred languages and we must therefore fix its origin in the period succeeding the division of languages. In Zend, we see some conjunctive vowels arise, as it were, under our eyes *i.e.* vowels which enter between two consonants that were formerly combined. this never occurs, however, with *m* *a*, but with the unorganic *ε* *ē* (§ 30), for which *i* is sometimes found, *e.g.* *us-ē-his'ta* "stand up," in which an *i* is inserted between the preposition and the verb, which never happens in Sanscrit.

500 The adjuncts of the fourth and tenth classes, *अ* *ya* and *अथ* *aya*, must, I believe, be regarded as auxiliary verbs: *अ* *ya* is, at the same time, the character of the passive, and we shall recur to it in treating of that voice. In Gothic, we have already found a representative of the Sanscrit fourth class (§ 109^b. 2) in Latin, verbs in *io* of the third conjugation, correspond to it. These, in disadvantageous comparison with the Gothic, have permitted the

vowel of the syllable *ya* to disappear almost everywhere
e g in all the cases in which the *a* of the first and sixth
class has been weakened to *i* before *r* to *e* hence *spec-i-o*
spec-i-unt contrasted with the Sanscrit *pas yā mi pas*
ya nti but *spec-i-s spec-i-t spec-i-mus spec-i-tis* contrasted
with *pas ya si pas ya ti pas yā mas pas ya tha* In the
participle present the *a* of the syllable *ya* has been re-
tained under the protection of two consonants hence
spec-ie ns spec-ie ntem contrasted with *pas ya n pas ya ntem*
Facio according to its origin should follow the fourth con-
jugation as it is based on the Sanscrit causal form
bhūtiyāmi "I make to be" (§ 19) on account however of
the trifling difference in form between *yāmi* and *ayāmi* it
cannot surprise us that the said Latin verb has deserted its
original class and migrated to that next adjoining Thus
vice versa cupio=kup yā mi "I am angry" has partly
changed into the fourth conjugation which corresponds to
the Sanscrit tenth class and to this conjugation belong
cupio cupitum while the present has remained in the class
to which this verb originally belongs In Lithuanian cor-
respond verbs in *iu yu* of Mielke's first conjugation
(p 96 &c) *e g liepyu* "I order" which like similar verbs
with a labial termination to the root rejects indeed the *y*
before the *i* of the second person but otherwise retains the
class syllable inviolate throughout the whole present. In
Slavonic, Dobrowsky's first conjugation belongs here which
in the present with the exception of the first person sin-
gular and third person plural exhibits the syllable *ya*
in the form of *ie ye* but only after vowels after consonants
only the *e* of the *ie ye* is left as in other parts also of gram-
mar *ie* is very frequently the remnant of the syllable *ie ye*
as the euphonic product of *yo* (§ 255 n and 258) In the
first person singular and third person plural we find both
after vowels and consonants *yā yūty* from *yo m yo-nty*
(§ 255 g) and in the gerund (participle) present *ya*

feminine *yāshchi*, answering to the Examples are *pi-yā*, "I drink,"* see third person *pi-ye-ty*, *žna-yā*, "I know") *žna-ye-shi*, *žna-ye-ty*, *or-yā*, "e-ty" Compare

SANSKRIT	LITH	OLD SLAV
<i>lubh-yā-m</i> , ¹	<i>lep-yu</i> ,	<i>žna-yā</i> , ²
<i>lubh-ya-si</i> ,	<i>lep-i</i> ,	<i>žna-ye-shi</i> ,
<i>lubh-ya-ti</i> ,	<i>lep-ya-</i> '	<i>žna-ye-ty</i> ,
<i>lubh-yā-vas</i> ,	<i>lep-ya-ua</i>	<i>žna-ye-ia</i> ,
<i>lubh-ya-thas</i> ,	<i>lep-ya-ta</i> ,	<i>žna-ye-ta</i> ,
<i>lubh-ya-tas</i> ,	<i>lep-ya-</i> '	<i>žna ye-ta</i> .
<i>lubh-yā-mas</i> ,	<i>lep-ya-me</i> ,	<i>žna-ye-m</i> ,
<i>lubh-ya-tha</i> ,	<i>lep-ya-te</i> ,	<i>žna-ye-te</i> ,
<i>lubh-ya-nti</i> ,	<i>lep-ya-</i> '	<i>žna-yā-ty</i> , ²

¹ "I desire," compare *lubet*, *libet*, Gothic p 692 Rem ¹ The Gothic *hāf-ya* is really identical with the Latin *capio*, the law word (§ 87) ² A completely legitimate this word (see § 255 q)

501 As the Lithuanian readily assigns to a stronger consonant preceding need not surprise us if this case of class of verbs also under discussion *mmu* (according to Mielke, p 101 23 rite, again restore their second *m* to

* The Sanscrit root *pī* is used only in the manner, to the fourth class, hence, *pī-yē*, *pī-i*

† Dobrowsky writes, p 321, *bushi*, *bety* but Kopitar, whom I follow, gives *byeshi*, & correct, it must be assumed that after the he dropped before *e*

but in the future and infinitive according to the old principle entirely withdraw the class syllable as *immu* I take preterite *emjau* future *imsu* infinitive *imlt* *Gemmu* I am born his in the preterite together with *gimjau* also the assimilated form *gimmau*. The root *gim* agrees with the Sanscrit जन *jan* which in the sense of to be born is likewise included in the fourth class but which regularly suppresses the *n* before the character *ya* and in compensation lengthens the vowel. As however *jan* "nasci" is used only in the middle and the passive on account of its character *ya* is identical with the middle of the fourth class nothing prevents us from regarding *ἡμεῖς ἰδύμεθα nascor* as passive and thus in Lathurman *gemmu* is recognised as a remnant of the Sanscrit passive with the loss only of the middle terminations. We should also remark the admirable agreement between the Lathurman *luppu* I peel skin and which is based on assimilation and the Sanscrit *lup-yaḥ m* from the root *lup* to carve destroy trouble. Hence the transition is close to Greek verbs with double consonants in the special tenses for the form αλλος is contrasted with the Gothic *ALLA* has furnished us with the first proof that in Greek the semi vowel *y* still exists in the form of a retroacting assimilation * for comparatives like κρείσσω ελασσω are traced back to this principle (§ 300) to which also verbs with *σ* or *λ* doubled in the special tenses are subjected thus λίσσομαι from λιττομαι as κρείσσω from κρείττων or κραττων φρίσσω from φρικτω as γλυσσω from γλυκων (γλυκιων) πτυσσω from πτυχω as τασσω from παχων (παχιωι). According to this principle γ also becomes σ *e y* τασσω from ταγω to which the comparatives do not supply any analogy as might have been expected in *μεγας*. As however *μειζων* is used for *μεγιστωι* from *μεγγων* so also in the ζ of some verbs the retroactive influence of an *e* which

* D monstrative B 13 3, p 90

η might be conjectured, thus $\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ (with $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma =$ Sanscrit अङ्गि याम् , "to adore," "to sacrifice,") from $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\omega$, $\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ from $\phi\rho\alpha\delta\eta\omega$, $\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ from $\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\omega$, $\beta\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ with $\beta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ from $\beta\rho\alpha\delta\eta\omega$ or $\beta\rho\alpha\chi\eta\omega$.

502. Most verbs in $\sigma\sigma\omega$ are denominatives, and it is here important to remark, that, in Sanscrit also the syllable चय forms denominatives, as chirí-ya-mi , 'I hesitate,' from chira , "slow", sabidí-ya-mi , "I tune," from sabida , 'sound', anú-ya-mi , "I curse," from anu , "life", namá-ya-mi , "I adore," from namas , "adoration". Thus, in Greek, $\alpha\mu\alpha\sigma\sigma\omega$ from $\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\sigma\tau\eta\omega$ from ΑΙΜΑΤ , $\epsilon\phi\acute{o}\rho\iota\sigma\sigma\omega$ from $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\eta\omega$ from ΚΟΡΥΘ , $\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ from $\tau\sigma\alpha\rho\chi\eta\omega$ from ΤΑΡΑΧΗ ; $\kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\mu\omicron\iota$ from $\pi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ from ΠΤΕΡΥΓ ; $\kappa\eta\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\omega$ from $\kappa\eta\rho\upsilon\gamma\eta\omega$ from ΚΕΡΥΓ . The numerous denominatives, also, in $\alpha\zeta\omega$ and $\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ might be referred to this class, the semi-vowel चय being represented by ζ .* The question is, whether the α and $\acute{\iota}$ of forms like $\epsilon\psi\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, $\delta\omicron\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\omicron\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\phi\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ belong to the primitive noun, or to the verbal derivative. It must be considered an important argument in favour of the former view, that $\alpha\zeta\omega$, in that kind of denominatives, for the most part occurs only where an α or η is already contained in the base noun, but η according to its origin — \acute{a} (§ 1). If, therefore, $\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ comes from $\delta\iota\kappa\eta$ ($\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$), then the final vowel of the base word has only been weakened in the most natural manner, and it would therefore be also only a weakening of the vowel, if o , springing from short \acute{a} , should become $\acute{\iota}$ (§ 6), and $e\gamma\gamma\pi\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ should stand for $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{o}\zeta\omega$. And it need not surprise us if η ($\acute{\alpha}$) were at times weakened a stage further than to $\acute{\alpha}$, viz to $\acute{\iota}$, and $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ were derived from $\alpha\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}$, by changing the η into $\acute{\iota}$. Bases ending with a consonant

* See § 19. From this interchange an affinity of the Greek $\zeta\acute{\alpha}$, $\zeta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$, to the Sanscrit चययामा "barley" may be deduced, thus $\zeta\acute{\alpha}$, for $\zeta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$.

observe if this opinion be just a double course of procedure either the final consonant is suppressed or an *i* added to it as a conjunctive vowel. The former occurs principally in words which have already become accustomed through the nominative (recursive) to the loss of their final consonant the latter principally in those words that retain their final consonant or the former of two in the nominative hence *χειμαζω* from *ΧΕΙΜΑΤ* *ονομαζω* from *ΟΝΟΜΑΤ* *παιζω* from *ΠΑΙΔΑ* *ασπιζομαι* from *ΑΣΠΙΔΑ* but *ανδριζω* *γαστριζω* *αυχενιζω* *ακοντιζω* *αρωιζω* *αλοκιζω*. Deviations from the prevailing principle are *αιματιζω* *ερματιζω* *παρδειγματιζω* *κυματιζω* *σπερματιζω* *ποδιζω* and on the other hand *μαστιζω* *σαλπιζω* *συριζω* for *μαστιγιζω* &c. The *Σ* of words like *τεῖχος* belongs indeed as has been before shewn (§ 128) to the base notwithstanding no derivations exist like *τειχεσιζω* since the recollection that the *Σ* which had been dislodged from the oblique cases belonged to the base at the time when these verbs originated was already extinct.

503 If we proceed on the opinion that the *α* and *ι* of denominatives in *αζω* and *ιζω* belong to the verbal derivative then they correspond to the Sanscrit tenth class (§ 109 6) which likewise forms denominatives and thus in the second person plural *αζε-τε* would = Sanscrit *aga tha*. The *ι* of *ιζω* would consequently be in *πολεμιζω* not the weakening of the *ο* of *ΠΟΛΕΜΟ* and in *γαστριζω* *μακαριζω* *ευδαιμονιζω* and others not a conjunctive vowel but the weakened form of the old *a* of *ययिष्य* *ayā mi* *ययिष्य* *aya si* &c. but the vowels of the nominal bases would be rejected as in Sanscrit in which language in polysyllabic bases not only the final vowels are withdrawn but final consonants also together with the vowel preceding them e.g. *प्रित* *a yam* from *प्रित* joy *वर्म* *ayam* from *वर्म* armour. We might consider in this light the isolated word *αεκαζομειος* in Greek and moreover forms like *οινομαζω* *ασπιζω* thus *πιο*

peily, *αεκ(ον)-αζόμενος*, *ασπ(ιδ)-ίζω*, *ονομ(ατ)άζω* - on the other hand, the majority of bases terminating with a consonant, in advantageous contrast with the Sanscrit, preserve the primary word unabbreviated, or only weakened, as before the oblique case terminations thus, *γαστρ-ίζω* like *γαστρ-ός*. If this second view of the matter is, as I am much inclined to think it is, the correct one, then the opposition between forms like *ἀγορ'-άζω*, *δικ'-άζω*, *χιμ-άζω*, on the one hand, and such as *πολ(ε)μ'-ίζω*, *ἀφρ'-ίζω*, *ἀδελφ'-ίζω*, *ἀνδ'-ίζω*, *ὑψ'-ίζω*, on the other, is to be settled thus, that the *α* of derivation is preserved by *α* or *η* (= *ā*) of the primitive word, in order that the base and derivative part may not experience too much weakening. For the rest, in bases in *ο*, the forms in *άζω*, without *ι* preceding, are not rare, though they are kept in the back-ground by the overwhelming majority of those in *ίζω*, as *ἵππ-άζω*, *λιθ-άζω*, *ἐργ-άζομαι*, *ἰσ-άζω*, *γυμν-άζω*, *κολ-άζω*, *δοκιμ-άζω*, *ἐτοιμ-άζω*, *κωμ-άζω*, *σηκ-άζω*, *συσκοτ-άζω* (together with *σκοτ-ίζω*), *συκ-άζω*, *τοξ-άζομαι*. Hence, also, the form in *ίζω* is not entirely foreign to the *α* declension (*λυρίζω* from *λύρα*), and what is of more importance, both *άζω* and *ίζω* occur beyond the nominal formations, as *ρίπτ-αζω* from *ρίπτω*, *στεν-άζω* from *στένω*,† as *δαμάζω* together with *δαμάω*, *ἀγαπάζω* with *ἀγαπάω*, *προκαλίζω* with *καλέω*, *αἰτίζω* with *αἰτέω*, *ὠθίζω* with *ὠθέω*. Such forms are certainly connected with the character *αγα* of the tenth class.

504 To this class I refer, also, verbs in *αω* and *εω*,† whose

c

* Not from the nominative *αηδής*, but from the base *ἈΗΔΕΣ* (compare p. 308)

† *Ἐρ-ύζω* from *έρω* appears to have been formed by weakening the *α* to *υ*

‡ Of course with the exception of those the *ε* or *α* of which is radical, denominatives in *ω* likewise, probably belong here, though the *ο* has the appearance of belonging to the primitive noun. The question appears to

relation to the Sanscrit *aya* must be this that (as in the Latin first conjugation and the Gothic second weaker form) after dropping the semi vowel the two *a*s of *αἶα* have combined into a corresponding long vowel (*α* or *η*). This shows itself elsewhere besides in the special tenses *εἶ* *γ* in *φιλῶ* *η-σω* *πεφιλῆκα* with which the Aëolic present *φιλῶ* *ἡμι* agrees whence by adding the conjunctive vowel of the *ω* conjugation through which the *η* is abbreviated come *φιλεω* *φίλομαι*. The case is similar to the formation of *τιθεω* for *τιθημι* from the root *OH* *. For *ικαω* we should expect *ικαμι* and such forms must have formerly existed the *ικῆμι* † however which has been transmitted to us as *νικῶ-σω* for *ικα-σω* need not surprise us as *η* according to its origin stands everywhere for *ā* and even the Doric disposed as it is to adopt the *α* has not preserved every *α* from being corrupted to *η*. In this point verbs in *αω* maintain a superiority over those in *εω* (for *ηω*) that they have preserved the length of the *α* under the protection of a preceding long vowel. The Prakrit as has been already observed has for the most part contracted the character *aya* into *ē*—

have one issue with that whether the *α* or *ε* of *αἶω* *ζω* belong to the verbal derivation or to the nominal *la*.

* From the point of view of the Greek it might appear doubtful whether *τμ* *τλημ* *δδμ* should be regarded as lengthened forms or *στμε* *τθμ* *δδμε* as shortened ones. But the history of *lan* agrees in favour of the latter opinion (compare § 481).

† I formerly thought it probable that in *ω* the Sanscrit *y* reposition might be concealed then *α* would be the root and I might be compared with *अयिष्यामि* I conquer from *यि* *Cl* I the medial being irregularly raised to a tenuis. But if which I now prefer is regarded as the root and *ay* *mi* is the class character then *ω* leads us to the Sanscrit causative *n* *s-ay* *mi* to annihilate to slay. The relation of *ω* to *nay* resembles that of *kr* *nay* to *क्रान्मि* in Sanscrit (§ 486). Then the conquering would take its name from the annihilation of the foe combined with it and *νω* would also be akin to *ε* *ρ* *ε*

by suppressing the final *a*, vocalizing the *y* to *i*, and contracting it, according to rule, with the preceding *a* to *ê*— and thus it agrees with the weak form of the Latin second, and Gothic third conjugation (p 110, *passim*) But in Prakrit the *y* of *aya* may also be abandoned, as *jan-ad-di* = Sanscrit *jan-aya-ti*, which serves as countertype to the Latin first and Gothic second weak conjugation (with *ô* for *â*, according to § 69), and to Greek verbs with the derivative *η* or *ᾱ*

505 The relation of the Latin *i* of the fourth conjugation to the Sanscrit *aya* is to be viewed thus, that the first *a* has been weakened to *i*, and has then combined with the *y* dissolved to *i*, and has thus formed *i*, which *i* before a vowel following-sound is again subject to abbreviation. The final *a* of अय *aya* has been lost or preserved under the same circumstances as those under which the syllable य *ya* of the fourth class, e g in *capio*, is retained or lost (compare § 500) Thus the *io*, *unt*, of *audio*, *audiunt*, correspond with the Sanscrit *ayâ-mi*, *aya-nti*, e g in *chôr-ayâ-mi*, “I steal” (compare *furo*, according to § 14), *chôr-aya-nti*, the *iês*, *iâs* of *audiês*, *audiâs*, with the Sanscrit अयेय *ayês* in *chôr-ayê-s*, “thou mayest steal”, on the other hand, the *is*, *it*, *imus*, *itis*, of *audîs*, *audît*, *audîmus*, *audîtis*, with the *aya-si*, *aya-ti*, *ayâ-mas*, *aya-tha*, of *chôr-aya-si*, &c In Slavonic, Dobrowsky’s third conjugation is to be referred here, which, in the present, contrasts *yû* (from *yo-m*, § 255ⁿ g), *ya-ty*, with the Sanscrit *ayâ-mi*, *aya-nti*, and Latin *io*, *u-nt*, but in the other persons has preserved only the semi-vowel of the Sanscrit *aya*, resolved to *i* Exclusive of the special tenses, these verbs separate into two classes (*E* and *F*, according to Dobrowsky), since the Sanscrit अय *ay*,† shews itself either in the form of *ye*, or as *i* The former, according to § 255 e, corresponds

* Compare Vocalismus, p 202

† The final *a* of अय *aya* remains only in the special tenses (§ 109ⁿ 6)

exactly with the Prakrit एद and therefore with the Latin ē of the second conjugation and with the Gothic ai Old High German ē of the third weak conjugation (p. 127 *passim*) e.g. भुज्जति बुज्ज-ते to see * answering to the Prakrit $\text{एद ए तुन (एद-ए मु)}$ Latin vid ē re Sanscrit $\text{vid ay- i tum (i d ayā mu)}$ On the other hand बुदति to waken in analogy with बुदति-श्नु thou wakenest &c

506 In Lithuanian we recognise the Sanscrit tenth class and therefore the German weak conjugation in Mielke's second and third conjugation. The second with regard to the present distributes itself into two classes of which the one and the more numerous has preserved only the a of the character aya —probably the latter—and hence appears identical with the first which corresponds to the Sanscrit first or sixth class e.g. stena me we groan stena te ye groan = Sanscrit $\text{stan-ayā mas}^\dagger$ stan aya tha as ए-आ मे ye अ त = उह द मास उह अ-था The other and less numerous class has like Dobrowsky's third conjugation an i in the present as a remnant of the Sanscrit aya e.g. myli me we love. In the preterite both classes have ėjo throughout the dual and plural thus e.g. second person plural $\text{stena-ėjo te myli-ėjo te}$ answering to the Sanscrit astan aya ta . The singular has in the first person ėjan from ėja m (§ 439) second person ėjai from ėja si third person ėjo without an expression for the person. Thus we see here the class character एय aya retained more exactly than in any other

* In Slavonic and Latin the causal in question has the meaning to see which is a means of making to know of a particular kind as in Sanscrit the eye as the organ of guiding is termed न त्रा and नयना

† The Sanscrit verb expresses a louder groaning than the Lithuanian and signifies to thunder compare tonare and Greek τρω in the sense of the roaring of the waves of the sea

European cognate language The \acute{e} ,* answering to the ऎ a , is perhaps produced by the re-active influence of the y , while, in Zend, that semi-vowel, by its assimilative force, changes into \acute{e} the following a sound, e g *śrāv-ayê-mi*, *śrāv-ayê-shu*, *śrāv-ayê-ti*, "I speak" ("make to hear"), &c There are some verbs in Lithuanian which, in the present also, have preserved the character ऎ aya in the most perfect form, e g *klyd-ėyu*,† "I wander about," plural *klyd-ėja-me*, preterite singular *klyd-ėyau* Verbs, also, in *oyu*, *ūyu*, and *vyu* plural *oya-me*, *ūya-me*, *uya-me* furnish an exact counterpart to the Sanscrit tenth class, or causal form, e g *dum-oyu*, "I think," plural *dum-oya-me*, preterite *dum-ayau*, *uazūyu*, "I dive," plural *uazūyu-me* = the Sanscrit causal *vāh-āya-mas* Verbs in *vyu* are, as it appears, all denominatives,† e g *dāvādvyu*, "I bring into order," from *dāvādas*, "order" Mielke's third conjugation, like the preponderating class of the second conjugation, has, in the present, preserved only the last vowel of the character ऎ aya , and that in the form of an o , with the exception of the first and second person singular, in which the old a remains Compare *penù*, "I nourish," of the second conjugation, with *larkau* (*lark-a-u*), "I stop," of the third

* The Lithuanian grammarians do not write the e with a circumflex, but with a different mark to denote the length of quantity

† Lithuanian $y = i$, and thus from the root of this verb comes the substantive *klaudūnas*, "false believer," with Viddhi (§ 26), for Lithuanian $a = \bar{a}$, the i being slightly pronounced, so *baimē*, "fear," answering to the Sanscrit root *bhī*, "to fear," whence *bhīma*, "fearful," and hence the derivative *bhāma* The derivation suffix *ūna*, in *klaudūna-s*, corresponds to the Sanscrit middle participial suffix *āna* (compare § 255 h)

‡ Mielke refers verbs in *ėyu*, *oyu*, *ūyu*, and *vyu* to his first conjugation, which is in general, composed of very heterogeneous parts

SINGULAR		DUAL	
<i>pen u</i>	<i>laik a u</i>	<i>pen a ua</i>	<i>laik o wa</i>
<i>pen i</i>	<i>laik a i</i>	<i>pen a ta</i>	<i>laik o-ta</i>
<i>pen a</i>	<i>laik-o</i>	<i>pen a</i>	<i>laul o</i>

PLURAL

<i>pen a-me</i>	<i>laik o-me</i>
<i>pen a te</i>	<i>laik o te</i>
<i>pen a</i>	<i>laik o</i>

In the two plural numbers and in the third person singular of the preterite *laikau* has lost the syllable *yo* of the *éyo* which in the second conjugation corresponds to the Sanscrit *aya* and in the first and second person singular it has lost the syllable *i* it uses *iau* for *eyau* and *iei* for *eyei*. Hence we see clearly enough that this conjugation though more corrupted likewise belongs to the Sanscrit tenth class. Compare—

SINGULAR		DUAL	
<i>pen éya u</i>	<i>laik ia u</i>	<i>pen eyo-ua</i>	<i>laik e-ua</i>
<i>pen eye-i</i>	<i>laik ie i</i>	<i>pen éyo ta</i>	<i>laik ta</i>
<i>pen eyo</i>	<i>laik e</i>	<i>pen eyo</i>	<i>laik e</i>

PLURAL

<i>pen éyo me</i>	<i>laik e-me</i>
<i>pen éyo-te</i>	<i>laik e te</i>
<i>pen eyo</i>	<i>laik e</i>

It has been already observed with regard to the Sanscrit tenth class that its characteristic *अय aya* is not restricted to the special tenses (§ 109 6) but that with few exceptions it extends to all the other formations of the root only laying aside the final *a* of *aya*. Thus in Lithuanian a part of the corresponding *eyo iyo* &c. is transposed to the general tenses and the other formations of the word. Of *éyo* the *e* remains of *uyo i* and of *aya uya* *o* the third conjugation however uses *y* (= *i*) *e g* future *pen e su da wad i su ua o su laik y su*

FORMATION OF THE TENSES

PRESENT.

507 The Present requires no formal designation, but is sufficiently pointed out by this, that no other relation

The following Note formed the Preface to the Fourth Part of the German Edition, and, being too important to be omitted, is inserted in the present form, in order to avoid an interruption of the text

THIS Part contains a section of the Comparative Grammar, the most important fundamental principles of which were published twenty-six years ago in my Conjugation System of the Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, Persian, and German, and have, since then, been almost universally acknowledged as just. No one, perhaps, now doubts any longer regarding the original identity of the abovementioned languages, with which, in the present work, are associated also the Lithuanian and Slavonic, while, since the appearance of the Third Part, I have devoted a distinct Treatise to the Celtic language,* and have endeavoured, in a Work which has recently appeared, to prove an original relationship between the Malay-Polynesian idioms, also, and the Sanscrit stem. But even so early as in my System of Conjugation, the establishment of a connection of languages was not so much a final object with me, as the means of penetrating into the secrets of lingual development, since languages, which were originally one, but during thousands of years have been guided by their own individual destiny, mutually clear up and complete one another, inasmuch as one in this place, another in that, has preserved the original organization in a more healthy and sound condition. A principal result of the inquiry instituted in my System of Conjugation was the following —that many grammatical forms, in the construction of verbs, are explained by auxiliary verbs, which are supposed to have attached themselves to them, and which, in some measure, give to the individual languages a peculiar appearance, and seem to confirm the idea, that new grammatical forms were developed, in the later periods of the history of languages, from newly-created matter, while, on closer inspection,

* In the Transactions of the Phil. Historical Cl. of the Academy of Belles Lettres for the year 1836. The separate Edition of my Treatise is out of print, and a new Edition will be struck off hereafter, to complete this Comparative Grammar.

of time past or future has a sonant representative. Hence in Sanscrit and its cognate languages there occurs

we find nothing in their possession but what they had from the first though at times its application is new. Thus the Latin in comparison with the Greek which is so closely allied to it shows in the forms of its tenses and moods in *lam* *bo* *ti* *rem* and *rim* an aspect which is completely strange. These terminations however as has been long since shown are nothing else than the primitive roots of the verb to be common to all the members of the Indo-European family of languages and of which one has for its radical consonant a labial the other a sibilant which is easily converted into *r*. It is therefore not surprising that *lam* presents a great resemblance to the Sanscrit *ablatam* and Lithuanian *buvaũ* I was (see § 619) while forms like *amabo* through their final portion stand in remarkable agreement with the Anglo-Saxon *leo* and Carniolan *lom* I shall be (see § 619) and border on the Irish dialect of the Celtic in this respect that here also the labial root of to be forms an elementary part of verbs implying futurity (see § 206).

In the Latin conjunctives as *amem* *am* *s* and future as *legam* *leg* *s* I have already through the medium of the Sanscrit perceived an analogy with the Greek optatives and German conjunctives and designated as exponent of the relation of mood or time an auxiliary verb which signifies 'to wish to will' and the root of which is in Sanscrit which here as in Latin and Old High German is contracted with a preceding *a* to *Int* in Greek with the *α* which is corrupted to *ο* forms the diphthong *αι*. Thus we meet with the Sanscrit *bhav* *s* the Old High German *bar* *s* the Latin *fer* *s* the Gothic *bairais* the Zend *bar* *is* and the Creel *φρ* *ε* *ς* as forms radically and inflexionally connected which excite real surprise by the wonderful fidelity with which the original type has been preserved in so many languages which have been from time immemorial distinct from one another. In particular the mood which in §§ 619 713 I have largely discussed may be regarded as one of the lustrous points of the common grammar of the members of the Indo-European languages. All the idioms of this giant family of languages as far as they are collected in this book share therein under different names. In Slavonic Lithuanian Lettish and Old Prussian it is the imperative in which we re-discover the mood called in Sanscrit grammar the potential and precative and it is most remarkable how closely the Carniolan as spoken at this day approximates in this point to the Sanscrit which has so long been a lead

in the present, only the combination of Personal terminations, and, indeed, of the primary ones, with the root, or,

language In order to set this in a clear point of view, I have, at § 711 (last example), contrasted two verbs of the same signification in the two languages, and in them written the Sanscrit diphthong *ē* from *ai* according to its etymological value

Where differences exist in the languages here discussed, they frequently rest on universal euphonic laws, and therefore cease to be differences. Thus, in the paradigm just mentioned, the Carniolan has lost, in the three persons singular of the imperative, the personal termination, while the dual and plural stand in the most perfect accordance with the Sanscrit. The abbreviation in the singular, however, rests on the euphonic law which has compelled the Slavonic languages, at least in polysyllabic words, to drop all original final consonants (see § 255 *l*). According to this principle, in Carniolan, *dāj* (= *dar*), three repeated, corresponds to the Latin *dem*, *dēs*, *det* (from *dami*, *dau*, *dau*), while in the present *dam* is more full than *do*, and *dash* as full as *dar*, because, that is to say, in the present the pronominal consonants originally had an *i* after them *

The German languages have renounced the association of the roots of the verb "to be." They are wanting in futures like the Sanscrit *dāsyāmi*, Greek *δῶ-σω*, and Lithuanian *dū-si*, and also those with the labial root of "to be," which furnish the Latin *dabo*, and Irish futures like *meallfa-ma*, "we will deceive," and Lithuanian conjunctives as *dātum-bime*, *daremus* (see § 685). German is wanting, too, in preterites like the Sanscrit *aduk-sham*, Greek *ἔδεικ-σα*, and Latin *dū si* (see § 555), to which belong the Slavonic tenses like *da ch*, "I gave," *dachom*, "we gave," the guttural of which we have derived from a sibilant †. On the other hand, the German idioms, by annexing an auxiliary verb signifying "to do," have gained the appearance of a new inflexion. In this sense I have already, in my System of Conjugation, taken the Gothic plurals like *sōkudēdum* and conjunctives as *sōkudēdyan* ("I would make to seek"), and subsequently, in agreement with F. Grimm, I have extended the auxiliary verb just mentioned also to the singular indicative *sokida*, and our forms like *suchte* (See §§ 620 &c.) I think, too, I have discovered the same auxiliary in the Slavonic future *būdū*, "I will be" ("I make to be"), and

* Sanscrit *dadami*, *dadasi*, *dadati*, on which the Carniolan *dam* (for *dadm*), *da-sh*, *da*, is based, see p. 673

† See § 255 *m*, &c.

instead of the root such an extension of it as in the special tenses falls to the class of conjugation to which

in the imperative *bi hi* (properly make to be) moreover in *id* I go (make to go see § 637) and finally in the Greek passive aorists in *θη* (see § 630) for the auxiliary verb to which our *thi n* answers which has been treated of minutely at § 498, &c signifies both in Sanscrit and Zend to place and to make and the Old Saxon *dēdē* I made resembles surprisingly the Zend reduplicated preterite *dadhā* (see § 630) It is however remarkable that those Sanscrit classes of verbs, to which as I think I have proved our weak conjugation answers always paraphrase that preterite which is the foundation of our German tense (the reduplicated or perfect) either by an auxiliary verb signifying to do to make or by a verb substantive Here therefore as in so many other thin the apparently peculiar direction which the German languages have taken was in a great measure pointed out to them by their old Asiatic sister

I cannot however express myself with sufficient strength in guarding against the misapprehension of supposing that I wish to accord to the Sanscrit universally the distinction of having preserved its original character I have on the contrary often noticed in the earlier portions of this work and also in my System of Conjugation and in the Annals of Oriental Literature for the year 1870 that the Sanscrit has in many points experienced alterations where one or other of the European sister idioms has more truly transmitted to us the original form Thus it is undoubtedly in accordance with a true retention of the original condition of the language that the Lithuanian *dieuas* God and all similar forms keep their nominative *es* before all following initial letters, while the Sanscrit *dēvas* which answers to the abovementioned *dieuas* becomes either *dīah* or *dī* or *dīa* according to the initial sound which follows, or *ai nāus* and this phenomenon occurs in all other forms in *as* The modern Lithuanian is moreover more primitive and perfect than the Sanscrit in this point also that in its *esi* thou art it has in common with the Dorian *es* preserved the necessary double *s* of which one belongs to the root the other to the personal termination while the Sanscrit *a si* has lost one also in this point that the forms *esme* we are *este* ye are in common with the Greek *εσμε* *εστε* have retained the radical vowel which has been softened in the Sanscrit *amas* *asthas* (see § 480) The Latin *erant* and *bant* of *avabant* &c surpass the Sanscrit *asan* and *abhatan* they were as also the Greek *ἦσαν* and *ἔβησαν* by retaining the *t* which belongs to the

it belongs (§ 109³ 493 &c) Compare, for the first conjugation (§ 493), the Sanscrit वहामि *vahāmi*, "I drive,"

fluid person, and *ferens* and the Zend *barans* are in advance of the Sanscrit *bharan* and Greek φέρειν, by then keeping the nominative sign, as also the Lithuanian *užans* (*užas*), in common with the Zend *uzans* and Latin *vehens*, put to shame, in this respect, the Sanscrit *vahan*. It is in fact, remarkable that several languages, which are still spoken retain here and there the forms of the primitive world of languages which several of their older sisters have lost thousands of years ago. The superiority of the Carniolan *dam* to the Latin *do* has been mentioned before, but all other Carniolan verbs have the same superiority over all other Latin verbs with the exception of *sum* and *inquam*, as also over the Greek verbs, as the Carniolan, and, in common with it, the Irish, have in all forms of the present preserved the chief element of the original termination *mi*. It is, too, a phenomenon in the history of languages, which should be specially noticed, that among the Indian daughters of the Sanscrit, as in general among its living Asiatic and Polynesian relations, not one language can, in respect of grammatical Sanscrit analogies, compare with the more perfect idioms of our quarter of the globe. The Persian has, indeed, retained the old personal terminations with tolerable accuracy, but, in disadvantageous comparison with the Lithuanian and Carniolan, has lost the dual, and preserved scarce any thing of the ancient manner of formation of the tenses and moods, and the old case terminations, which remain almost entire in the Lithuanian, and of which the Classical and German languages retain a great part, the Celtic somewhat, have completely vanished in Persian, only that its plurals in *ân* bear the same resemblance to the Sanscrit plural accusatives, that the Spanish in *os* and *as* do to the Latin, and also the neuter plurals in *hâ*, as I believe I have shewn, stand connected with the old system of declension (see § 241). And in the correct retention of individual words the Persian is often far behind the European sisters of the Sanscrit, for while in expressing the number "three" the European languages, as far as they belong to the Sanscrit, have all preserved both the *T* sound (as *t*, *th*, or *d*) and also the *r*, the Persian *sh* is farther removed from the ancient form than the Talutic *toru* (euphonic for *tru*). The Persian *chêhâr* or *châr*, "four," also, is inferior to the Lithuanian *keturi*, Russian *chetyre*, Gothic *fidvôr*, Welch *pedwar*, and even to the *e-fatia* of Madagascar.

No one will dispute the relation of the Bengâli to the Sanscrit, but it

carry with the verbs which correspond to it in the cognate idioms (Regarding *छव* and the Lithuanian *nezu* see § 112 Rem 3 and 4)

has completely altered the grammatical system and thus in this respect resembles the Sanscrit infinitely less than the majority of European languages. And as regards the lexicon too the Bengali resembles the above mentioned language far less than its European sisters in such words for instance as have gone through the process of fermentation in a language which has newly arisen from the ruins of an old one and have not been re-drawn from the Sanscrit at a comparatively recent period without the slightest alteration or only with a trifling modification in their pronunciation. We will take as an example the word *schwester* sister this German word resembles the Sanscrit *svasir** far more than the Bengali *bolin* † our *bruder* also is more like the Sanscrit *bratar* than the effeminate Bengali *ll* ‡ and our *soester* is infinitely closer to the Sanscrit *dhatar* than the Bengali *gh*. Our expressions *vater* and *mutter* correspond far better to the Sanscrit *pitar* (from *pitar*) and *matar* than the Bengali *bap* or *baba*† and *ma*. Our *deri acht* and *neun* are more similar to the Sanscrit *tri ashtau* (from *ast* n) *nunan* than the Bengali *tin* *at* *nay*. Our *sieben* has retained only the labial of the *pt* of the Sanscrit *saptan* the Bengali *s* ‡ only the *T* sound and dropped entirely the termination *an*. In general it appears that in warm regions languages when they have once burst the old grammatical chain hasten to their downfall with a far more rapid step than under our milder European sun. But if the Bengali and other new Indian idioms have really laid aside their old grammatical dress and partly put on a new one and in their forms of words experienced mutilation almost everywhere in the beginning or in the middle or at the end no one need object if I assert the same of the Malay-Indonesian languages and refer them to the Sanscrit family because I

This did not *s* *t* *s* *t* *h* true them *th* *nom* *t* *is* *t* *s* *il* *acc* *si*
svasir an This word as *P* *t* *h* *o* *c* *j* *e* *t* *e* *s* *has* *l* *t* *the* *the* *s* *c* *d* *a* *t* *v* *e* *l*
 has been retained in every European language

† The initial *s* *j* *e* *t* *d* and the *cc* *d* *o* *r* *u* *p* *t* *e* *l* *t* */* *T* *l* *S* *a* *c* *i* *t* *v* *s* *i* *B*
 gl *re* *l* *y* *pro* *u* *c* *e* *d* *a* *s* *b* *a* *n* *d* *a* *k* As *reg* *d* *il* *t* *i* *l* *l* *o* *f* *l* *o* *k*
 up *the* *s* *a* *n* *i* *pro* *p* *o* *s* *e* *d* *c* *o* *j* *n* *t* *e* *o* *w* *l* *d* *the* *n* *a* *s* *c* *o* *u* *p* *t* *o* *f* *a* *i* *t*
 numeral *t* *h* *i* *s* *p* *r* *e* *p* *r* *e* *s* *e* *n* *t* *l* *y* *p* *a* *k* *i* *b* */* *p* *r* *e* *s* *u* *p* *p* *o* *s* *e* *s* *a* *S* *c* *r* *i* *t* *s* *v* *a* *s* *i* *(fro*
sv *t* *)*

‡ *l* *y* *o* *j* *i* *a* *r* *d* *p* *l* *e* *a* *t* *i* *o* *n* *f* *th* *n* *a* *t* *y* *l* *a* *b* *i* *p*

SINGULAR

SANSKRIT	ZEND	GREEK	LATIN	GOTHIC	LITH	OLD SLAV
<i>vah-â-mi</i> , ¹	<i>vas-â mi</i> ,	ἔχ-ω- ¹ ,	<i>veh o</i> ¹ ,	<i>vig-a-</i> , ²	<i>vez u</i> , ²	<i>vez-û</i> ²
<i>vah-a-si</i> ,	<i>vas-a-hi</i> ,	ἔχ-ει-ες, ³	<i>veh-i s</i> , ¹	<i>vig-i s</i> , ¹	<i>vez-i</i> , ³	<i>vez-e-shi</i>
<i>vah-a-ti</i> ,	<i>vas a-ti</i> ,	ἔχ-ε-(τ)ι,	<i>veh-i-t</i> , ¹	<i>vig-i th</i> , ¹	<i>vez-a-</i> , ³	<i>vez-e-ti</i>

DUAL

<i>vah-â-vas</i> , ¹				<i>vig-ô-s</i> , ¹	<i>vez-a u a</i> ,	<i>vez-e i a</i>
<i>vah-a thas</i> ,	<i>vas-a thô</i> ²	ἔχ-ε-τον, ¹		<i>vig-a-ts</i> ,	<i>vez-a-ta</i> ,	<i>vez-e-ta</i>
<i>vah-a-tas</i> ,	<i>vas-a-tô</i> ,	ἔχ-ε-τον, ¹			³	<i>vez-e ta</i>

PLURAL

<i>vah-â mas</i> , ¹	<i>vas â-mah</i> , ³	ἔχ ο μς,	<i>veh-i-mus</i> ,	<i>vig-a m</i> ,	<i>vez-a-mi</i> ,	<i>vez-o-me</i>
<i>vah a-tha</i> ,	<i>vas-a tha</i> ,	ἔχ-ε-τε,	<i>veh-i tis</i> , ¹	<i>vig i th</i> , ¹	<i>vez-a te</i> ,	<i>vez-e te</i>
<i>vah-a-nti</i> , ¹⁰	<i>vas-ê-nti</i> ,	ἔχ-ο ντι,	<i>veh-u-nt</i> ,	<i>vig-a-nd</i> ,	³	<i>vez-ûty</i> ¹¹

have found in them a pervading relationship in numerals and pronouns, and, moreover, in a considerable number of other common words *

Philology would ill perform its office if it accorded an original identity only to those idioms in which the mutual points of resemblance appear everywhere palpable and striking, as, for instance, between the Sanscrit *dadâmi*, the Greek *δίδωμι*, Lithuanian *dâmi*, and Old Slavonic *damy*. Most European languages, in fact, do not need proof of their relationship to the Sanscrit, for they themselves shew it by their forms, which, in part, are but very little changed. But that which remained for philology to do, and which I have endeavoured to the utmost of my ability to effect, was to trace, on one hand, the resemblances into the most retired corner of the construction of language, and, on the other hand, as far as possible, to refer the greater or less discrepancies to laws through which they became possible or necessary. It is, however, of itself evident, that there may exist languages, which, in the interval of thousands of years in which they have been separated from the sources whence they arose, have, in a great measure, so altered the forms of words, that it is no longer practicable to refer them to the mother dialect, if it be still existing and known. Such languages may be regarded as independent, and the people who speak them may be considered Autochthones. But where, in two languages, or families of languages, resemblances, which are perfectly

* See my Pamphlet "On the Connection of the Malay-Polynesian Languages with the Indo-European," as also my own notice of the same in the *Ann of Lit Crit* (March 1842), and compare L. Diefenbach's judicious review, 1 c May 1842

¹ Respecting the lengthening of the class vowel see § 434 ² *He-2*
 from *we-o m* for *we -a i* as in Old Sclavonic *нѣтъ* *re'* from *re' o i*
 see §§ 26, 9 and 434. The full Lithuanian termination is *iš* and the
 Old Sclavonic *i y* (§ 434). ³ See § 440. In Latin the weak-
 ening of the *a* of the middle syllable to *i* prevails nearly through-
 out in Celtic occurs only before *s* and *th* final see §§ 67, 109. ⁴
⁵ *He-1* for *re -a i* from *re -a-i* compare *es-si* thou art see § 440
 where we should read *we -a* *we ate* for *we -a* *we ate*. The Old Russian
 has everywhere retained the syllable and employs *or* *se* and *si* as the
 personal termination as *drav-e-s* thou believest (compare Sanscrit
dr̥i va firm certain) *da-s* thou givest *va (d) se* thou
 knowest *giva-si* (for *giva-a-si*) thou livest = Sans. *j rasi*. ⁶ From
re g a r i s see § 441. ⁷ From *x-e r* see § 97. ⁸ Is supplied
 by the singular. ⁹ *I i* *riah* is founded on the Vedic form *riah m i*
 see § 439. ¹⁰ See § 440. ¹¹ From *re o n i* see § 2. *q*

evident or may be recognised through the known laws by which corrup-
 tions arise crowd together into the narrow and confined space of particular
 classes of words, as is the case in the Malay and Sinesian languages in
 relation to the Indo-European in the numerals and pronouns and where
 moreover we find in all spheres of ideas words which resemble one
 another in the degree that the Malayan *salai* friend the Sanscrit *śālī*
 the Malay *malai* cloud the Sanscrit *malā* the New Zealand *rihau* tree
 the Prakrit *rahita* the New Zealand *pekau* "win" the Sanscrit *pahā*
 the Tagalog *pa* foot the Sanscrit *pāda* the Talutian *ray* night the Prakrit *re*
 the Tongrian *alo* day the Sanscrit *al* the Tongrian *alka* ship the Sanscrit *plika*
 the Tongrian *feldu* to sail in a ship the Sanscrit *plava* ship the
 Tongrian *suf lu* to wash the Sanscrit *plu* (*plu*) the Tongrian *hama*
 wish the Sanscrit *idma* the Malay *put* and Malay *siti*
 white the Sanscrit *pu* pure *—there certainly we have ground
 for being convinced of a historical connection between the two families
 of languages.

If it were desired in settling the relation of languages to start from a
 negative point of view and to declare such languages or groups of lan-
 guages not related which when compared with one another present a

Observe the frequency of the following words in the Malay and Sinesian languages
 I was taught by of whom re I found my pamphlet the Malay fly
 Language p 5 I R m 13

508 In the Sanscrit first conjugation the verb *तृण्णि तृण्णि* *tishthāmi*, "I stand," deserves particular notice. It proceeds from the root *sthā*, and belongs properly to the third class, which receives reduplication (§ 109³ 3), but is distinguished from it by this anomalous character, that it shortens its radical *ā* in the special tenses, and also

* Where naturally, in the first person, this shortened *a* is, according to § 434, again lengthened

large number of words and forms, which appear to be peculiar then we must not only detach the Malay-Polynesian languages from the Sanscrit stem, but also separate them from one another—the Madagascar and South-Sea languages from the acknowledged affinity with the Tagalia, Malay, and Javanese, which has been so methodically and skilfully demonstrated by W von Humboldt, and in like manner divide the Latin from the Greek and Sanscrit, and the Greek German, Slavonic, Lettish Lithuanian, Celtic, must be allowed to be so many independent, unconnected potentates of the lingual world, and the coincidences, which the many members of the Indo European lingual chain mutually offer, must be declared to have originated casually or by subsequent commixture

I believe, however, that the apparent verbal resemblances of kindred idioms, exclusive of the influences of strange languages, arise either from this, that each individual member, or each more confined circle of a great stem of languages, has, from the period of identity, preserved words and forms which have been lost by the others, or from this that where, in a word, both form and signification have undergone considerable alteration, a sure agreement with the sister words of the kindred languages is no longer possible. That, however, the signification, as well as the form, alters in the course of time, we learn even from the comparison of the new German with the earlier conditions of our mother-language. Why should not far more considerable changes in idea have arisen in the far-longer period of time which divides the European languages from the Sanscrit? I believe that every genuine radical word, whether German, Greek, or Roman, proceeds from the original matrix, although the threads by which it is retraced are found by us at times cut off or invisible. For instance, in the so called strong conjugation of the

in the syllable of reduplication where a short *a* should stand it weakens thus the gravest of the vowels to that which is the lightest *e* hence *e g* in the second and third person singular *tishtha e tishtha ti* for *tasthâ u tasthâ ti* as might be expected according to the analogy of *dadd u dadâ ti*. As the shortened *a* of *sthâ* in the conjugation is treated exactly like the class vowel of the first conjugation this verb therefore and *ghrâ* to smell which follows its analogy is included by the native grammarians in the

German one would expect nothing exclusively German but only what has been handed down and transmitted from the primitive source. We are able however to connect with certainty but very few roots of the strong verbs with the Indian. While *e g* in Sanscrit /en/ (Greek Latin, Lithuanian Lettish and Slavonic *em* in the idea of giving in a root of which the original *f m* preserved in the Sanscrit and /en/ as *da*, the German *gab* throws us into perplexity as regards its comparison with its sisters. But if we would assume that this verb originally signified "to take" and has received the casual meaning (to make to take *f e* to give) as the Sanscrit *hâtâ mi* and /en/ *hât mi* in Greek *στυμι* has arrived from the meaning of standing at that of taking *e* we might then trace *gab* to the Vedic *grâ* and assume that the *r* has been lost although this root has remained in German also in a truer form and meaning only that the *a* has been weakened to *i* (Gothic *grēipra* grasp *grifum*).

I have altered the plan proposed in the Preface to the first Part (p. xvii) of devoting a separate work to the formation of words and comparison of them and to refer thither also the particles, conjunctions, and participles, for this reason that I intend to treat in the present work with all possible conciseness the comparative doctrine of the formation of words, and will also discuss the coincidences of the various members of the Indo-European stem of languages, which appear in the conjunctions and prepositions. For this object a Fifth Number will be requisite. The present Fourth Number will conclude the formation of the tenses and moods but a little remains to be added regarding the mood which is called *Itt* in the Zend and *Vl* in dialects as also the imperative *vilh* for the rest is distinguished only by its personal terminations which have been already discussed in the Third Part.

first class, so that, according to them, we should have to divide *tishth-a-si*, *tishth-a-ti*, and regard *tishth* as a substitute for *sththa*. I consider the occasion of the double weakening, which the roots *sthā* and *ghrā* undergo in the syllable of repetition and of the base, to be in the two consonants conjoined with it, which give to the syllable of repetition a length by position, for which reason, in order that the whole should not appear too unwieldy, the vowel weight of the syllable of reduplication is lessened, and the length of the base syllable is shortened. The Zend *histah*, "thou standest," *histati*, "he stands," &c, follow the same principle, and it is important to remark, that the Latin *sistis*, *sistit*, *sistimus*, *sistitis*, on account of the root being incumbered with the syllable of reduplication, has weakened the radical *ā* of *stā-re* to *i*, and apparently introduced the verb into the third conjugation. I say apparently, because the essence of the third conjugation consists in this, that an *i*, which is not radical, is inserted between the root and the personal termination, but the *i* of *sisti-s*, &c, like the *a* of the Sanscrit *tishtha-si*, belongs to the root. The Greek ἵστημι has so far maintained itself upon an older footing, that it has not given to the syllable of reduplication, or to the consonants which unite it, an influence on the long vowel of the radical syllable, but admits of the shortening of this vowel only through the operation of the gravity of the personal terminations, thus, before the grave terminations of the plural numbers, and of the entire middle, according to the analogy of δίδωμι, &c (see § 480 &c). With respect to the kind of reduplication which occurs in the Sanscrit *tishthāmi*, and of which more hereafter, I must notice preliminarily the Latin *testis*, which is the reverse case of *steti*, as I believe *testis* is to be regarded as one who stands for any thing.

509 The Sanscrit, and all its cognate dialects, have two

roots for the verb substantive of which the one which is in Sanscrit *bhu* in Zend *bu* belongs to the first conjugation and indeed to the first class and assumes therefore in the special tenses a class vowel *a* and augments the radical vowel by *guna* while the other viz *as* falls to the second conjugation and in fact to the second class. These two roots in all the Indo European languages except in the Greek where $\Phi\bar{\Upsilon}$ has entirely lost the signification to be are so far mutually complete that *bhu bu* have remained perfect in the Sanscrit and Zend (as far as the latter can be quoted) but *as* on the contrary in its isolated condition is used only in the special tenses. In Lithuanian the root which answers to *as* is only used in the present indicative and in the participle present just as in the Slavonic where the present of the gerund is according to its origin identical with the participle present. The Gothic forms from *as* the *a* of which it weakens to *i* its whole present indicative and conjunctive only that there is attached to it a further apparent root *STY* which however in like manner proceeds from *as*. The root *bhu* in Gothic does not refer at all to the idea of to be but from it proceeds I have no doubt the causal verb *bana* I build (second person *banais*) which I derive like the Latin *facio* from *भवयामि bhāyāmi* I make to be (§ 19). The High German has also preserved remains of the root *bhu* in the sense of to be hence proceed in the Old High German the first and second person of the singular and plural while the third persons *ist* and *sind* (which latter form is now in the shape of *sind* erroneously transferred to the first person) answer to *अस्ति asti सन्ति santi*. For the rest from *as* also proceeds the conjugation *si* (Sanskrit *स्याम् syām* I may be) and the infinitive *sin*. Moreover also the Sanscrit root *vas* to dwell has raised itself in German to the dignity of the verb sub

stantive, since, indeed, in Gothic, the present *visa* (weakened from *vasa*, see § 109' 1) signifies only "to remain," but the preterite *vas*, and its conjugation *vi'syan* (our *van*, *ware*), the infinitive *visan*, and the participle present *visand*, replace the forms which have been, from ancient time, lost by the roots expressing the idea "to be." It may be proper to mention here, that in Sanscrit, the root *sthā*, "to stand," occasionally receives the abstract meaning "to be," and so, in a measure, has served as an example to the Roman languages, which, for their verb substantive, employ, besides the Latin roots, *ES* and *FU*, also *STA*. And *ās*, "to sit," also occurs in Sanscrit, in the sense of the verb substantive, e.g. Nal 16 30 गतसत्त्वा द्वासते *gata-sattrā* (s) *vaāsate*, "like senseless are they," Hitôp 14 11. आस्ताम् मानसशुभये सुकृतिनाम् *āstām mānasatustayē sukrutinām*, "let it be (your good behaviour) to gratify the spirit of the virtuous," Uiv 92 8. आयुमान् आस्ताम् अयम् *āyushmān āstām ayam*, "long-lived may this man be." It is not improbable that the verb substantive is only an abbreviation of the root *ās*, and that generally the abstract notion of "being" is in no language the original idea of any verb whatever. The abbreviation of *ās* to *as*, and from that to a simple *s*, before grave terminations (see § 480), is explained, however, in the verb substantive, very easily, as, from its being worn out by the extremely frequent use made of it, and from the necessity for a verb, which is so much employed, and universally introduced, obtaining a light and facile construction. Frequent use may, however, have a double influence on the form of a verb, in the first place, to wear it out and simplify it as much as possible, and, secondly, to maintain in constant recollection its primitive forms of inflexion, by calling them perpetually into remembrance, and securing them from destruction. Both these results are seen in the verb substantive, for in Latin, *sum*, together with

inquam are the only verbs which have preserved the old personal sign in the present in the Gothic and English of the present day *im* and *am* are the only forms of this kind and in our new German *bin* (from *bim*) and *sind* are the only forms which have preserved the character of the first person singular and third person plural.

10 As the Sanscrit root *bhu* belongs to the first conjugation we shall next examine its conjugation in the present. As belonging to the first class it requires *Guna* and the insertion of the class vowel *a* between the root and the personal termination (§ 109 1) This insertion of the *a* occasions the *bho* (= *bhau*) for euphonic reasons to become *bhai* in which form the root appears in all the persons of the special tenses By this *bhai* in Zend *bai* the Old High German *bir* (or *pir*) in the plural *bir u mes* *bir u t* obtains very satisfactory explanation since as remarked at § 20 and as has since been confirmed in the case before us by Graff (II 325) the semi vowels are often interchanged and for example *v* readily becomes *r* or *l** The *u* of *bir u-mes* *bir u t* is a weakening of the old *a* (*Vocalismus* p 227 16) and the *i* of the radical syllable *bir* rests on the weakening of that vowel which occurs very often elsewhere (§ 6) The singular should according to the analogy of the plural be *birum* *birus* *birut* but has rejected the second syllable so that *bim* has nearly the same relation to the Sanscrit *bhavadmi* that in Latin *malo* has to the *malolo* which was to have been looked for The obsolete conjunctive forms *fuam* *fuas* *fuat* *fuant* presuppose an indicative *fuo* *fuis* *fuit* &c which has certainly at one time existed and in essentials has the same relation to the Sanscrit *bhavami* *bhavas* *bhavati* that *reho* *vehis* *vehit* has to *rahumi* *rahasi* *vahati*

* See also § 409 Rem † and § 447 Rem c

The obsolete form *fuvi* of the perfect, which is found with the common *fu*, leads us from *fuo* to *fuvo*, in as far as the syllable *vi* of *fuvi* is not declared identical with the *vi* of *amavi*, according to my opinion, but its *v* regarded as developed from *u*, just as, in the Sanscrit reduplicated preterite बभूव *babhūva*, in the aorist अभूवम् *abhūvam*, and in the Lithuanian preterite buvau

The full conjugation of the present of the root under discussion, in Sanscrit, Zend, Old High German, and Greek, is as follows

SINGULAR

SANSKRIT	ZEND	OLD SLAV	GREEK
<i>bhav-ā-mi</i> ,	<i>bai-ā-mi</i> ,	<i>bi-m</i> ,	φύ-ω'
<i>bhav-a-si</i> ,	<i>bav-a-hi</i> ,	<i>bi-s</i> ,*	φύ-ει-ς
<i>bhav-a-ti</i> ,	<i>bav-ar-ti</i> ,		φύ-ε-(τ)ι

DUAL

<i>bhav-ā-vas</i> ,			
<i>bhav-a-thas</i> ,	<i>bav-a-thō</i> ?		φύ-ε-τον
<i>bhav-a-tas</i> ,	<i>bav-a-tō</i> ,		φύ-ε-τον.

PLURAL

<i>bhav-ā-mas</i> ,	<i>bav-ā-mahi</i> ,	<i>bir-u-mēs</i> ,	φύ-ο-με-ς
<i>bhav-a-lha</i> ,	<i>bav-a-lha</i> ,	<i>bir-u-t</i> ,	φύ-ε-τε
<i>bhav-a-nti</i> ,	<i>bav-ar-nti</i> ,	†	φύ-ο-ντι

511 I hold it to be unnecessary to further annex an example of the second conjugation (that in *μ* in Greek), for several examples have been given already, in the

* Also *bist*

† The forms *buint*, *bunt*, *bunt*, and *bint*, which occur in Nothke in the second person plural, I consider as unorganic intruders from the third person, where *bunt* would answer admirably to *bhavantri*. The form *bint* corresponds in its abbreviation to the singular *bim*, *bis*. With regard to the mutation of the person, notice our *sind* of the first person

paragraphs which treat of the influence of the gravity of personal terminations on the preceding root or class syllable to which we here refer the reader (§ 180 &c.) We will only adduce from the Gothic the verb substantive (as it is the only one which belongs to this conjugation) and contrast its present with the Sanskrit and Zend (compare p 60) —

SINGULAR			PLURAL		
<i>as mi</i>	<i>ah mi</i>	<i>i m</i>	<i>s-mas</i>	<i>h mahi</i>	<i>sij u m</i>
<i>a si</i>	<i>a hi</i>	<i>i s</i>	<i>s-tha</i>	<i>s tha</i>	<i>sij-u th</i>
<i>as-ti</i>	<i>as ti</i>	<i>i st</i>	<i>s a nti</i>	<i>h enti</i>	<i>s-i nd</i>

Remark 1 — It is evident that the plural forms *sij u m* *sij u th* if strictly taken do not belong to this place as the personal terminations are not conjoined direct with the root but by means of a *u* which might be expected also in the second dual person *sij u ts* if it occurred and in which respect those forms follow the analogy of the present. The first dual person which actually occurs is *siju*. As regards the syllable *sij* which forms the root the base of all these forms and of the conjunctive *sij au* *sij ai* &c. I do not think that according to its origin it is to be distinguished from *im* (of which the radical *s* has been lost) and *sind*. To *sind* answers *sij* in so far as it likewise has lost the radical vowel and commences with the sibilant which in Zend according to § 53 has become *h*. With regard to the *ij* which is added I think that *sij* stands connected with the Sanskrit potential *sydm* so that to the semi vowel there has been further prefixed its corresponding vowel *i* for the Gothic as it appears does not admit of a *y* after an initial consonant hence *sijan* for *syjan* = स्यान् *sydm* according to the principle

* Regarding the derivation of this form from *sij u m* and the ground of my giving the long *u*, see § 111

by which, from the numeral base *thri*, "three," comes the genitive *thriyê* for *thriyê* (§. 310) If, therefore, in the form *siy*, properly only the *s* is radical, and the *iy* expresses a mood-relation, still the language, in its present state, is no longer conscious of this, and erroneously treating the whole *siy* as root, adds to it, in the conjunctive, the class vowel *a* (§ 109¹. 1.), with which a new *i* is united as the representative of the mood relation, and, in the indicative, the vowel *u*, which otherwise, in the preterite, regularly enters between the root and personal termination "

"Remark 2 That in the Roman languages, also, the weight of the personal terminations exerts an influence on the preceding radical syllable, and that, in French, the relation of *tenons* to *tiens* rests on the same principle on which, in Greek, that of *δίδομεν* to *δίδωμι* does, is already remarked elsewhere * The third person plural, in respect to the form of the radical vowel, ranks with the singular, since it, like the latter, has a lighter termination than the first and second person plural, and indeed, as pronounced in French, none at all, hence, *tiennent*, answering to *tenons*, *tenez* Diez, however, differing from my view of the Roman terminating sound (*ablaut*), has, in his Grammar of the Roman languages (I p 168), based the vowel difference between *tiens* and *tenons* on the difference of the accent which exists, in Latin, between *téneo* and *tenémus* But it is not to be overlooked, that, in the third conjugation also, although, *quæro* and *quærimus* have the same accent, still, in Spanish, *querimos* is used, answering to *quero*, and, in French, *acquérons*, answering to *acquiers*, as has been already remarked by Fuchs, in his very valuable pamphlet, "Contributions to the Examination of the Roman Lan-

* Berlin Ann, Feb 1827, p 261 Vocalismus, p 16

guages p 18 It may be that the *i* of the French *sais* is identical with the *i* of the Latin *sapio* but even then the dislodgement of this *i* in *saisons* rests on the same law as that which dislodged in *tenons* the *i* prefixed in *tiens* as *e g* in Sanscrit the root *ias* rejects in the same places its radical *a* where regular verbs of the same class lay aside the Guna vowel which is introduced into the root before light terminations thus अस्मि *usmas* we will answering to वस्मि *iasmi* I will as in French *saisons* to *sais*

Remark 3—I cannot ascribe to the Guna in the conjugation of the Sanscrit and its cognate languages a grammatical meaning but explain it as proceeding simply from a disposition to fulness of form which occasions the strengthening of the lighter vowels *i* and *u* by *a* as it were taking them under the arm by prefixing an *a* while the *a* itself as it is the heaviest vowel does not require extraneous help If it were desired with Pott (Etym Inq I 60) to find in the Guna of the present and imperfect an expression of the continuance of an action we should be placed in the same difficulty with him by the circumstance that the Guna is not restricted to these two tenses but in verbs with the lighter base vowels *i* and *u* accompanies the base through nearly all the tenses and moods not only in Sanscrit but also in its European cognate languages in as far as these have in general preserved this kind of diphthongization as the Greek *λείπω* and *φεύγω* cannot any more be divested of the *ε* taken into the roots ΛΙΠ ΦΥΓ only that the *ε* in *ἀκλόιπα* is replaced by *ο* * and that the aorists *ἔλιπον* *ἔφυγον* exhibit the pure root which I cannot attribute to the signification of this aorist (as the second aorist has the same meaning as the first but the latter firmly retains the Guna if it is in general the property of the verb) but to the circumstance that the second aorist is

† E and never *ue* with the vowel the representatives of the Sanscrit Guna vowel *a* see Valhius pp 7 &c 193 &c

for the most part prone to retain the original form of the base, and hence at one time exhibits a lighter vocalization than the other tenses, at another, a heavier one, as ἔτραπον compared with ἔτρειψα and ἔτρειπον. In this disposition, therefore, of the second aorist to retain the true state of the base, the difference between forms like ἔλιπον, ἔφυγον, ἔτυχον, and the imperfects of the corresponding verbs, cannot be sought in the circumstance, that the action in the aorist is not represented as one of duration, and that, on the contrary, in the imperfect and present the continuance is symbolically represented by the Guna. In general, I do not think that the language feels a necessity to express formally the continuance of an action, because it is self-evident that every action and every sort of repose requires time, and that it is not the business of a moment, if I say that any one eats or drinks, sleeps or sits, or that he ate or drank, slept or sat, at the time that this or that action occurred regarding which I affirm the past time. I cannot, therefore, assume, with Pott, that the circumstance that the class-characteristics occur only in the special tenses (*i e* in the present and imperfect indicative, and in the moods thereto belonging), is to be thence explained, that here a continuance is to be expressed. Why should the Sanscrit have invented nine different forms as symbols of continuance, and, among its ten classes of conjugations, exhibit one, also, which is devoid of all foreign addition? I believe, rather, that the class augment originally extended over all tenses, but subsequently, yet still before the separation of languages, was dislodged from certain tenses, the construction of which induced the semi-vowel. This inducement occurred in the aorist (the first, which is most frequently used) and future, owing to the annexation of the verb substantive, wherefore, *dāsyāmi* and *δώσω* were used for *dadāsyāmi* and *didōσω*, and in the perfect, owing to the reduplication characterising this tense, whence, in Greek, the form *δέδειγμαi* must have gained the preference over the *δεδείκνυμαι*.

which may have existed. Observe that in Sanscrit the loading the root by reduplication in the tenses mentioned has occasioned even in the second person plural active the loss of the personal sign so that ददृश *dadrīsa* corresponds to the Greek δέδορκαι *α-τε*

512 For the description of the present middle which in the Greek appears also as the passive and in Gothic as passive alone it is sufficient to refer back to the disquisition of the middle terminations given at §§ 466 &c. It might however not be superfluous to contrast here as an example of the first conjugation the Sanscrit *bharé* (for *bhar-a me*) with the corresponding forms of the cognate languages and for the second to annex the forms of the Sanscrit *tan i ē* (from *tan u mē* from *tan* Cl 8 to extend see § 109 4)

SINGULAR

SANSCRIT	ZENON	GREEK	GOthic
<i>bhar i</i> (from <i>bhar-i me</i>) ¹	<i>bair ē</i> ²	φέρ ο μαι	³
<i>bhar a se</i>	<i>bar a he</i>	(φέρ ε-σαι)	<i>bair a za</i> ⁴
<i>bhar a tē</i>	<i>bar-ai te</i> ²	φέρ ε-ται	<i>bair a da</i> ⁴

DUAL

<i>bhar a iahē</i>	φέρ ο μεθον
<i>bhar ēthē</i> ⁵	φέρ-ε σθον ⁶
<i>bhar ethe</i> ⁵	φέρ ε-σθoi ⁶

PLURAL

<i>bhar a mahē</i> ⁷	<i>bar a maidhē</i>	φέρ-ο-μεθα	³
<i>bhar a-dhiē</i> ⁸	<i>bar a dhue</i> ^{2,9}	φέρ ε-σθε ⁶	³
<i>bhar a nte</i>	<i>bar ai ntē</i>	φέρ ο νται	<i>bair a nda</i> ⁴

¹ See §§ 467 473 ² Regarding the *ai* of the root see § 41 and regarding the Gothic *a* of *bairaza* &c see 39 ³ This is replaced by the third person

⁴ The terminations *za da nda* are abbreviations of *zai dai ndai* see § 466. Observe in *bair a ~i bair a di* that the conjunctive vowel is preserved in its original form (see § 466 close)

Bharēthe and *bar t* from *bhar a athē bhar a t* whence *Barātī bl ratē* would be regular but in this place throughout the whole conjugation the *a* has been weakened to *ē* (= *a+i*) or the *a* of the termina-

tion has become *i* or *î*, and been melted down with the class vowel *a* to *ê*. Regarding the terminations *âthê*, *âtê*, as conjectural abbreviations of *tathê*, *tâtê*, or *sîthê*, *sâtê*, see §§ 171-175. * See §§ 171-175. * From *bhar-â madhê*, see § 472. To the Zend termination *madhê* corresponds remarkably the Irish termination *maoi*, *i q* in *dagh-u-maoi*, "we burn," = Sanscrit *dah â mahê*, from *dah â madhê*. * Probably from *thar-a-dlthê*, see §§ 171-175. * The termination *dhur* can be deduced with tolerably certainty from the secondary form *dhur m*, see Burnouf's *Yagna*, Notes, p. XXXVIII.

SINGULAR	
SANSCRIT	GREEK
<i>tan-u-ê</i> (from <i>tan-u-me</i>),	τάν-υ-μαι
<i>tan-u-shê</i> ,	τάν-υ-σαι
<i>tan-u-tê</i> ,	τάν-υ-ται.
DUAL	
<i>tan-u-tahê</i> ,	ταν-ύ-μεθον
<i>tan-u-âlhê</i> ,	τάι-υ-σθον.
<i>tan-u-âtê</i> ,	τάι-υ-σθοι
PLURAL	
<i>tan-u-mahê</i> from <i>tan-u-madhê</i> ,	τσι-ύ-μιθα
<i>tan-u-dhê</i> ,	τάι-υ-σθι
<i>tan-i-atê</i> from <i>tan-i-antê</i> ,*	τάν-υ-ιται.

"Remark. In Zend, we expect, if *tan* is here employed, according to the same class of conjugation, for the second and third person singular, and first and second person plural, the forms *tan-ûh-ê* (see §§ 11-52), *tan-ûh-tê* (according to the *kêrê-nûh-tê*, 'he makes,' which actually occurs), *tan-u-madhê*, *tan-u-dhê*. The third person plural might be *tan-u-antê*, or *tan-u-antê*, according as the nasal is rejected or not, for that the Zend, also, admits of the rejection of the nasal in places where this is the case in Sanscrit, is proved by the forms *śēnhaiti*, 'they teach,' medial *śēnhaitê*, corre-

* See §§ 458-459. See an example of the active of the corresponding class of conjugation, or one nearly akin to it, at p. 680.

sponding to the Sanserit शासति *sāsatī* शाशते *sāsatē* (Burnouf Yaçni p 180) In the Sanserit also we sometimes find the nasal retained in the middle of the second conjugation e.g. *achuvāata* for the more common *achumata* In the first person singular is formed in Zend from § 13 the form *tan uy-é* with euphonic *y*

THE PRETERITE

513 The Sanserit has for the expression of past time the forms of the Greek imperfect aorist and perfect without however like the Greek connecting with these different forms degrees of meaning They are in Sanserit all without distinction used in the sense of the Greek aorist or imperfect but the reduplicated preterite which corresponds in form to the Greek perfect most frequently represents the aorist The Sanserit is entirely deficient in a tense exclusively intended to express the completion of an action none of the three forms mentioned is used chiefly for this object and I do not remember that I have anywhere found the reduplicated preterite as representative of the perfect When the completion of an action is to be expressed we most commonly find the active expression changed into a passive one and in fact so that a participle which in form and signification corresponds to the Latin *usus* is combined with the present of the verb substantive or the latter is to be supplied as in general the verb substantive in Sanserit is omitted almost everywhere where it can possibly be done Some examples may appear not improperly annexed here In the episode of the Saviṭri* it should be said V 19 Thou hast gone as far as thou hadst to go where the latter words are expressed by *gatan tvayā* (*gatan*

* I have published it in a collection of episodes entitled Diluvium &c in the original text and in the German translation under the title Sundflut (Berlin by F Dümmler)

euphonic for *galam*), "gone by thee" in the *Nalus*, XII 29, for "Hast thou seen Nala"? we read in the original *kachchit drishtas tvayā Nalō*, i. e. "*an visus a te Nalus*"? in Kālidāsa's *Urvasī* (by Lenz, p 66) "Hast thou stolen her step"? is expressed by *gatir asyās tvayā hṛitā* ("the way of her taken by thee") It happens, too, not unfrequently, that the completion of an action is denoted in such a manner that he who has performed an action is designated as the possessor of what has been done, since, उक्तवान् अस्मि *uktavān asmi*, literally "*dicto præditus sum*," signifies "*dictum habeo*," "I have said" Thus in *Urvasī* (l c p 73) the question, "Hast thou seen my beloved"? is expressed by *api drishtavān asi mama priyām*, i e "art thou having seen in b"?* The modern mode, therefore, of expressing the completion of an action was, in a measure, prepared by the Sanscrit, for the suffix *vat* (in the strong cases *vant*) forms possessives, and I consider it superfluous to assume, with the Indian grammarians, a primitive suffix *tavat* for active perfect participles It admits of no doubt whatever, that उक्तवान् *uktavat*, "having said," has arisen from *ukta*; in the same way, धनवान् *dhanavat*, "having riches," "rich," proceeds from *dhana*, "riches"† The form in *tavat*,

* The fourth act of *Urvasī* affords very frequent occasion for the use of the perfect, as the King Puruṇavas on all sides directs the question whether any one has seen his beloved? This question, however, is never put by using an augmented or even a reduplicated preterite, but always by the passive participle, or the formation in *vat* derived from it So, also, in *Nalus*, when Damayanti asks if any one has seen her spouse?

† The Latin *divit* may be regarded as identical with *dhanavat*, the middle syllable being dropped and compensated for by lengthening the preceding vowel A similar rejection of a syllable has at one time occurred in *ditior*, *ditissimus*, just as in *malo*, from *muvalo*, from *magisvalo* Pott, on the contrary, divides thus, *div it*, and thus brings "the rich" to the Indian "heaven," *div*, to which also Varro's derivation of *divus* in a certain degree, alludes, as *divus* and *deus* are akin to the Sanscrit *dēva*, "God", and the latter like *div*, "heaven," springs from *div*, "to shine"

although apparently created expressly for the perfect occurs sometimes also as an action in transition. On the other hand in neuter verbs the Sanscrit has the advantage of being able to use the participles in *ta* which are properly passive with active and indeed with a perfect meaning and this power is very often employed while the passive signification in the said participle of verbs neuter is limited as in the above example to the singular neuter in the impersonal constructions. As example of the active perfect meaning the following may serve Nāṭ. XII 13. *kṛā nu rājan gātā si* (euphonic for *gatas an*) *quone rex? profectus es?*

§14 The Sanscrit is entirely devoid of a form for the plusquam perfect and it employs where that tense might be expected either a gerund expressive of the relation after *—which where allusion is made to a future time is replaced also by the future absolute†—or the locative absolute in sentences like *apakrāntē nalē rājan damayanti abudhyata* after Nālā had departed O king! (*profecto Nalō*) Damayanti awoke

§15 But if it is asked whether the Sanscrit has from the oldest antiquity employed three past tenses without syntactical distinction and uselessly expended its formative power in producing them or whether the usage of the language has in the course of time dropped the finer degrees of signification by which they might as in Greek have been originally distinguished I think I must decide for the latter opinion for as the forms of language gradually wear out and become abraded so also are meanings subjected to corruption and mutilation. Thus the San

* Nāl. VI 96 *atrandamanān sansrutya javēn blīsas ra śīntem postquam audiverat* (after hearing the weeping) *cum velocitate a'ienit*

† Nāl. V 22 *Iatham buddhā bhaviṣyat* how will she feel in spirit after she has been awakened (after waking)?

sanscrit has an immense number of verbs, which signify "to go," and "to be," the employment of which must have been originally distinguished by the difference in the kind of motion which each was intended to express, and which are still, in part, so distinguished. I have already noticed elsewhere, that the Sanscrit *sarpāmi*, "I go," must have had the same meaning as *serpo* and *έρπω*, because the Indians, like the Romans, name the snake from this verb (*सर्पिस् sarpa-s* "serpens")*. If, then, the nicer significations of each one of the three forms by which, in Sanscrit, the past is expressed, gradually, through the misuse of language, became one, so that each merely expressed time past, I am of opinion, that it was originally the intention of the reduplicated preterite, like its cognate form in Greek, to express an action completed. The syllable of reduplication only implies an intensity of the idea, and gives the root an emphasis, which is regarded by the spirit of the language as the type of that which is done, completed, in contradistinction to that which is conceived to be in being, and which has not yet arrived at an end. Both in sound and in meaning the perfect is connected with the Sanscrit intensive, which likewise has a reduplication, that here, for greater emphasis, further receives a vowel augment by Guna. According to signification, the Sanscrit intensive is, in a measure, a superlative of the verbal idea, for, *dédīpya-māna* means "very shining." In respect of form, this intensive is important

* I believe I may include here the German root *slip*, *slif* (*schleifen*); Old High German *slifu*, *slcif*, *slifumcs*, English "I slip." We should expect in Gothic *slēpa*, *slarp*, *slarpum*, preserving the old tenuis, as in *slēpa* = *svapmi*, "I sleep." The form *slip* is founded on a transposition of *sarp* to *siap*. The transition of *i* into *l*, and the weakening of the *a* to *i*, cannot surprise us, considering the very usual exchange of semi-vowels with one another, and the by no means unusual phenomenon, that a root is divided into several, by different corruptions of form. We may include here, too, the root *swip*, *swif* (*schweifen*), Middle High German *swife*, *sueif*, *swifen*.

for comparison with the European cognate languages because the moods which spring from its present indicative afford us it were the prototype of the imperative and the optative of the Greek perfect and of the German conjunctive of the preterite compare preliminarily *bīban dhyām* I much wish to bind with the Gothic *bundyan* (from *baibundyan*) I may bind and the imperfect *ιδραγδλη* (from *ιach* to speak) with the Greek *κεκραχθι* which is connected with it in formation though not radically. The first augmented preterite of this intensive comes in respect to form very close to the Greek plusquam perfect compare *atolōpam* plural *atolupma* with *ετετυφειν ετετυφειμεν*. As every completed action is also past the transition of the vocal symbol of completion approaches very closely to that of the past, and the gradual withdrawal of the primary meaning is not surprising as we must in German also describe the completion of an action in a manner already pointed out by the Sanscrit, while our simple preterite which is akin to the Greek perfect and which in Gothic also in a certain number of verbs has preserved the reduplication corresponds in meaning to the Greek imperfect and aorist.

516 As regards the two augmented preterites which appear in Greek as imperfect and aorist there is no occasion in the form by which they are distinguished from one another to assume a primitive intention in the language to apply them to different objects unless such aorists as—in Greek *ελπει εδων* contrasted with *ελπει εδιδωκεν* in Sanscrit *alipam* * *adim* opposed to *alimpam* *adadim*—are considered original and in their brevity and succinctness contrasted with the cumbersomeness of the imperfect a hint be found

* The Sanscrit root *lip* is not connected with the Greek *ΛΗ* but means to smear and to it belongs the Greek *λ π ε λ φ*. But *alipam* stands so far in the same relation to *alimpam* that *λ π* does to *λ ι τ*, that it has divested itself of the inserted nasal as *ελιπο* has of the Guna vowel.

that through them the language is desirous of expressing such actions or conditions of the past, as appear to us momentary, from their ranking with other events, or for other reasons. It might then be said that the language unburthens itself in the aorist only of the Guna and other class characteristics, because, in the press of the circumstances to be announced, it has no time to express them, just as, in Sanscrit, in the second person singular imperative, the lighter verbal form is employed, on account of the haste with which the command is expressed, and, *e g.* *vid-dhi*, "know," *yung-dhi*, "bind," stands opposed to the first person *védāni*, "let me know," *yunajāni*, "let me bind." But the kind of aorist just mentioned is, both in Sanscrit and in Greek, proportionably rarer, and the withdrawing of the class characteristics extends, in both languages, not to the aorist alone, and in both this tense appears, for the most part, in a form more full in sound than the imperfect. Compare, in Sanscrit, *adiksham* = ἔδειξα with the imperfect *adisham*, which bears the complete form of the aorist abovementioned. In the sibilant of the first aorist, however, I cannot recognise that element of sound, which might have given to this tense its peculiar meaning, for this sibilant, as will be shewn hereafter, belongs to the verb substantive, which might be expected in all tenses, and actually occurs in several, that, in their signification, present no point of coincidence. But if, notwithstanding, in Sanscrit, or at the time of the identity of the Sanscrit with its cognate languages, a difference of meaning existed between the two augmented preterites, we are compelled to adopt the opinion, that the language began very early to employ, for different ends, two forms which, at the period of formation, had the same signification, and to attach finer degrees of meaning to trifling, immaterial differences of form. It is requisite to observe here, that, in the history of languages, the case not unfrequently occurs, that

one and the same form is in the lapse of time split into several and then the different forms are applied by the spirit of the language to different ends. Thus in Sanscrit *dātā* from the base *datar* (§ 144) means both the giver and he that will give but in Latin this one form bearing two different meanings has been parted into two of which the one which is modern in form and has arisen from the old by the addition of an *u* (*daturus*) has assumed to itself alone the task of representing a future participle while the other which has remained more true to the original type appears like the kindred Greek *δοτῆρ* only as a noun agent

THE IMPERFECT

517 We proceed to a more particular description of the different kinds of expression for past time and consider next the tense which I call in Sanscrit according to its form the monoform augmented preterite in contradistinction to that which corresponds in form to the Greek aorist and which I term the multiform preterite since in it seven different formations may be perceived of which four correspond more or less to the Greek first aorist and three to the second. Here for the sake of brevity and uniformity the appellations imperfect and aorist may be retained for the Sanscrit also although both tenses may in Sanscrit with equal propriety be named imperfect and aorist since they both in common and together with the reduplicated preterite represent at one time the aorist at another the imperfect. That which answers in form to the Greek imperfect receives like the aorist the prefix of *an a* to express the past the class characteristics are retained and the personal terminations are the more obtuse or secondary (§ 430) probably on account of the root being loaded with the augment. This exponent of the past may bear the same name in Sanscrit also. In Greek it is easily recognised in the *ε*. Thus in the first conjugation we may compare *αἶσαρπ α m* I delighted with *εἰερεπον* in

t as from *vas* to dwell comes the future *vat syami* and the aorist *adī sam*. The original accusative termination in *ns* appears in the Vedas also as *nr* and indeed in bises in *i* and *u* in case the word following begins with a vowel or *y* as in general a final *s* after vowels other than *a* or *u* becomes *r* before all sonant letters. Examples of plural accusatives in *nr* (for *n* must become Anusvara before *r* as before *s*) are गिरिर् अचुच्यवीरान् *girir achuchyavīrāna* *nubes excitate* (I c p 72) त्वम् अग्ने यसु इह रुद्रा आदित्य उत । यज्ञा *tvaṁ agne yasur iha rudrān adityān uta । yajñā tu Agnis' Vāsues hic Rudras atque Aditis filios sacris cole* (I c p 85) Bises in *a* have lost the *r* in the accusative plural. The circumstance however that they replace the *n* of the common accusative terminations with Anusvara (*n*) as in रुद्रा *rudrān* आदित्य *adityān* just mentioned appears to me to evince that they likewise terminated originally in *nr* the *r* has been dropped but its effect—the change of *n* into *n̄*—has remained. At least it is not the practice in the Rig Veda particularly after a long *d* to replace a final *n* with Anusvara for we read I c § 219 विद्वान् *vidvān* skilful not विद्वा *vidvān* although a *v* follows before which according to Pāṇini is before *y* *r* and vowels in the Vedic dialect the termination *ān* should be replaced by *ān̄* (compare Rosen p IV 2) a rule which is probably taken too universally and should properly be limited to the accusative plural (the principal case where *ān* occurs) where the Zend also employs *an* and not *n* (§ 239). The accusative termination *nr* for *ns* is however explained in a manner but little satisfactory by Rosen in his very valuable edition of a part of the Rig Veda p XXXIX 5 and the *t* mentioned above is considered by the Indian grammarians as an euphonic insertion (Smaller Sanskrit Grammar § 82 82^b Rem). If however an initial *s* from a disposition towards a *t* preceding has such influence as to annex that letter it appears to me far more natural for it to have had

the power to preserve a *t*, which actually exists in the primitive grammar, or to change an *s* into that letter.

518 The Zend, as found in the Zend Avesta, appears to have almost entirely given up the augment, at least with the exception of the aorist mentioned in §. 469, and which is remarkable in more than one respect, *𐬰𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬭𐬀* *uûudhusha*,* “thou growest,” and the form mentioned by Burnouf *𐬀𐬭𐬀* *ās*, “he was,” *𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀* *āonhât*, “he would be,”† I have found no instances, which can be relied upon, of its retention, unless, perhaps, *𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀* *apathayēn*,‡ “they went” (Vend S p 43, Z 4.), must pass as such, and we are not to read, as might be conjectured, in place of it *𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀* *apathayēn*, and the initial vowel is the preposition *a*, which, perhaps, is contained in some other forms also, which might be explained by the augment. Thus, perhaps, in the first Fargard of the Vendidad, the frequently-recurring forms *𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀* *frâthvērēšēm* (or *frâthvārēšēm*), “I made,” “I formed,” *𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀* *frâ-kēñtat*, may be distributed into *fra* and *athvērēšēm* and *akēñtat* I, however, now think it more probable that their first syllable is compounded of the prepositions *fra*

* The initial *u* appears to have been formed from *a* by the assimilating influence of the *û* of the second syllable I shall recur to this aorist hereafter

† Burnouf (Yagna, p 434) proposes to read *𐬀𐬭𐬀* *ās* for *𐬀𐬭𐬀* *ās* But this form, also, has something uncommon, since the Vêda *𐬀𐬭𐬀* *ās* (of which hereafter) would lead us to expect, in Zend, *āo*, as a final Sanscrit *𐬀𐬭𐬀* *s*, with a preceding *â*, regularly becomes *āo*, but *𐬀𐬭𐬀* *as* becomes *ô* (see § 56^b) Without the augment we find, in the Zend Avesta, both the reading *𐬀𐬭𐬀* *as* and *𐬀𐬭𐬀* *as*, although otherwise this form actually belongs to the verb substantive

‡ Thus we should read instead of *𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀* *apathaičn*, compare the Sanscrit *apanthayan*, “they went,” with an inserted nasal *Ἐπάτειν* corresponds in Greek But should we read *âpathayčn* for *apathayčn* the long *â* would not be the augment, but the preposition *â*

ፍሬልኛ *mraōm** I spoke (p 123) ሄገልኛ *mraō-s* thou spokest (p 226) ገገልኛ *mraut*[†] he spoke occurs very often ገገልኛ/ገገ ከገገ *nao t* he made (p 135) In the plural I conjecture the forms *amru ma amru ta* = Sanscrit *abru ma abru ta*, and *kēre-nu-ma kere nu ta* like such Greek forms as *αἶστρον νῦ-μιν αἶστρον-νῦ-τε* = Sanscrit *astri-nu ma astri nu ta* The third person plural does not admit of being traced with the same certainty

570 With respect to the use of the imperfect it deserves
to be remarked that in Zend this tense is very frequently
employed as the conjunctive of the present and that the
reduplicated preterite also occasionally occurs in the same
sense In such cases the past appears to be regarded from its
negative side as denying the actual present and to be thus
adapted to denote the conjunctive which is likewise devoid
of reality Here belongs the phenomenon that in Zend
the conjunctive even where it is actually formally ex-
pressed far more frequently expresses the present by the
imperfect than by the present and that in Sanskrit the
conditional is furnished with the augment and that also
in German and Latin the conditional relation is expressed
by past tenses Examples of the Zend imperfect indica-
tive with the sense of the present conjunctive are *𐬰𐬁𐬀𐬎𐬌*
fracha kerenta they may cut to pieces = San-
skrit *अक्रन्तः* (*Vend S p 233*) *𐬔𐬡𐬭𐬀𐬢𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬪𐬀𐬚𐬀*
dia id nara anhen panča id there may be
either two persons or five *𐬠𐬵𐬀𐬩𐬀𐬳𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬶𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬚𐬀𐬤𐬀*

* This form is based on the Sanscrit *abratam* for which *abruvam* the contraction in Zend is similar to that of यवम् *yavam* *oryzam* to *𐬀𐬚𐬭𐬀* *yaom* Regarding the exchange of *b* with *m* in *mra* *m* see § 63

† These two persons pre suppose in Sanscrit *abro s abro-t* for which are used with irregular insertion of a conjunctive vowel : *abray-i s abrai : t*

great family of languages which occupies our attention diverge from one another in respect to the past and have so divided the store of Sanscrit Zend past forms that that of the imperfect has fallen to the lot of the Lithuanian and the Slavonic has taken the aorist and in fact the first aorist while the German has received the form of the Greek perfect. The augment however has been dropped by the Lithuanian and Slavonic and the Gothic has retained the reduplication only in a small number of verbs while in German it has concealed in forms like *huss lief fiel* of which hereafter

522 As the imperfect now engages our attention we must for the present leave the Slavonic and German unnoticed and first bestow our notice on that Lithuanian preterite which is called by Ruling the perfect. It might with equal propriety be termed imperfect or aorist as it at the same time simultaneously represents these two tenses and its use as a perfect is properly a misuse as also in the Lettish which is so nearly allied this tense is actually called the imperfect and the perfect is denoted by a participle perfect with the present of the verb substantive *e.g. es sinnayu* I did know *es esmu sinnayis* I have known (been having knowledge). That the Lithuanian preterite answers to the imperfect and not to the second aorist is clear from this that it retains the class characteristics given up by the aorist for *buvau* I was or have been answers to the Sanscrit अभवम् *abhavam* and Greek εφρον and in the plural *buv-o me* to the Zend *bav-a-ma* Sanscrit *abhav a ma* Greek εφρ-o μεν not to the aorist अभव *abhu ma* εφρ-μεν although if necessary the first person singular *buvau* might be compared with अभवम् *abhuvam* to which on account of the *u* of the first syllable it appears to approach more closely than to the imperfect *abhavam*. I believe however that the Lithuanian *u* of *buvau* is a weakening

of *a*, and I recognise in this form one of the finest and truest transmissions from the mythic age of our history of languages, for which reason it may be proper to annex the full conjugation of this tense of the verb, and to contrast with it the corresponding forms of the cognate languages, to which I also add the Latin *ham*, as I consider forms like *amabam*, *doccham*, &c, as compounded, and then *bam* to be identical with the Sanscrit *abhamam*, to which it has just the relation which *malo* has to *marolo*, or that the Old High German *him*, "I am," has to its plural *biuimēs*, from *biuimēs* (see § 20)

SINGULAR

SANSKRIT	Zend	THI	LATIN	GREEK
<i>abhav-a-m</i> ,	<i>baōm</i> from <i>baŭ-ē-m</i> ?	<i>buu-a-ū</i> , ¹	<i>-ba-m</i> , ²	ἐφϋ-ο-ν
<i>abhav-a-s</i> ,	<i>baŭ-ō</i> , ³	<i>buu-a-i</i> ,	<i>-bā-s</i> ,	ἐφϋ-ο-ς
<i>abhav-a-t</i> ,	<i>baŭ-a-t</i> ,	<i>buu-o</i> ,	<i>-ba-t</i> ,	ἐφϋ-ο-(τ)

DUAL

<i>abhav-ā-va</i> ,	<i>būw-o-ua</i> ,
<i>abhav-a-tam</i> , <i>bav-a-tēm</i> ?	<i>būw-o-ta</i> ,	ἐφύ-ο-τον
<i>abhav-a-tām</i> , <i>bav-a-tanm</i> ?	like Sing	ἐφϋ-έ-την

PLURAL

<i>abhav-ā-ma</i> , <i>bav-ā-ma</i> ,	<i>būw-o-me</i> , <i>-bā-mus</i> ,	ἐφύ-ο-μεν
<i>abhav-a-tha</i> , <i>bav-a-ta</i> ,	<i>būw-o-te</i> , <i>-bā-tis</i> ,	ἐφύ-ο-τε
<i>abhav-a-n</i> , . . .	like Sing <i>-ba-nt</i> ,	ἐφϋ-ο-ν

¹ From *buw-a-m* see § 438
"en asque"

² See § 526

³ *Bavaš-cha*,

523 For the regular verb, compare, further, *kirtau*, "I struck," "I cut" (*kirtau szenan*, literally "I mowed," "cut hay"), with the Sanscrit अकृतम् *akṛtam*, "I cleft,"* Zend

* The root is *hit*, properly *kart*, and belongs to those roots of the sixth class which, in the special tenses, receive a nasal. Here belongs, among

कृन्तुः *krentum* and Greek *ῥκειρον* which has lost the *t* of the root

SINGULAR

SANSKRIT	ZEND	LITHUANIAN	GREEK
<i>akrint a m</i>	<i>kerent e m</i>	<i>kirt a u</i> (SUL § 138)	<i>ῥκειρ ο-ι</i>
<i>akrint a s</i>	<i>kerent o</i>	<i>kirt a i</i> (SUL § 199)	<i>ῥκειρ-ε-ς</i>
<i>akrint a t</i>	<i>kerent a t</i>	<i>kirt o</i>	<i>εκειρ-ε-(τ)</i>

NUAL

<i>akrint ā ia</i>		<i>kirt o-ua</i>	
<i>akrint a tam</i>	<i>kerent a tam?</i>	<i>kirt o-ta</i>	<i>εκειρ-ε τοι</i>
<i>akrint a-tam</i>	<i>kerent a tam?</i>	like Sing	<i>εκειρ-ε την</i>

PLURAL

<i>akrint a nu</i>	<i>kerent ā ma</i>	<i>kirt o-me</i>	<i>εκειρ-ο μει</i>
<i>akrint a ta</i>	<i>kerent a ta</i>	<i>kirt o-te</i>	<i>εκειρ-ε-τε</i>
<i>akrint a n</i>	<i>kerent e-n</i>	like Sing	<i>ῥκειρ ο-ν</i>

521 Many Lithuanian verbs which follow in the present the analogy of the Sanskrit of the first class change in the preterite into the tenth and in fact so that they terminate in the first person singular in *ia u* (=Sanskrit *aya-m*) but in the other persons instead of *ia* employ an *e* which unites with *i* of the second person singular to *ei*

others *l p* to besmear whence *lump nu alumpam* (second aorist *alipam*) with which the Lithuanian *l m p i* 'I paste on' (preterite *lippau* futuro *l psu* infinitive *l pti*) appears to be connected. Iott acutely compares the Gothic *salbō* so that *sa* would be an obscured preposition grown up with the root. The present of *kirtau* is *l r t u* and there are several verbs in Lithuanian which contrast an *e* in the present with the *i* of the preterite futuro and infinitive. Thus *e* either springs direct from the original *a* of the root *kart*—as among others the permanent *e* of *degu* 'I burn' = Sanskrit *d dhami*—or the original *a* has first been weakened to *i* and this has been corrupted in the present to *e* so that *kertu* has nearly the same relation to the preterite *kirtau* futuro *kir su* (for *kirt su*) and infinitive *l irs ti* (from *l ir t ti*) as in Old High German the plural *lesam s* we read to the Gothic *lesam* and its own singular *lisu*

This analogy is followed, by *wežíau*, "I led," *sekıau*, "I followed," whence *wežíei*, *sekei*, *wežė*, *sekė*; *wežėua*, *sekėua*, *wežėta*, *sekėta*, *wežėme*, *sekėme*; *wežėte*, *sekėte*. Observe the analogy with Mielke's third conjugation (see § 506), and compare the preterite *laıkiau*, § 506.

525 In the Lithuanian tense which is called the imperfect of habit, we find *dauau*, as *suk-dauau*, "I am wont to turn," which is easily recognised as an appended auxiliary verb. It answers tolerably well to *dauyau* (from *dūmi*), "I gave," "have given," from which it is distinguished only in this point, that it is inflected like *buwai* and *kirtau*, while the simple *dauyau*, *dawei*, *daué*, *dauėua*, &c., follows the conjugation of *wežíau*, *sekıau*, which has just (§ 524) been presented, with this single trifling point of difference, that, in the first person singular, instead of *i*, it employs a *y*, thus, *dauyau* for *dawiau*. As in Sanscrit, together with *dā*, "to give," on which is based the Lithuanian *dūmi*, a root *धा dhā*, "to place" (with the preposition *वि vi*, "to make") occurs, which is similarly represented in Lithuanian, and is written in the present *demi* ("I place"), so might also the auxiliary verb which is contained in *suk-dauau*, be ascribed to this root, although the simple preterite of *demi* (from *dami* = Sanscrit *dadhāmi*, Greek *τιθημι*), is not *dauyau*, or *dawiau*, but *dėyau*. But according to its origin, *demi* has the same claim as *dūmi* upon the vowel *a*, and the addition of an unorganic *w* in the preterite, and the adjunction of the auxiliary verb in *suk-dauau* might proceed from a period when *dūmi*, "I give," and *demi*, "I place," agreed as exactly in their conjugation as the corresponding old Indian forms *dadhāmi* and *dadhāmi*, which are distinguished from one another only by the aspirate, which is abandoned by the Lithuanian. As *dadhāmi*, through the preposition *vi*, obtains the meaning "to make," and, in Zend, the simple verb also signifies "to make," *demi* would, in this sense, be

more proper as an auxiliary verb to enter into combination with other verbs and then *suk dauau* I was wont to turn would in its final portion coincide with that of the Gothic *sôk i da* I sought *sôk i-dêdum* we sought which last I have already in my System of Conjugation explained in the sense of we sought to do and compared with *deds* deed I shall return hereafter to the Gothic *sôk-i da sok i dêdum* It may however be here further remarked that exclusive of the Sanscrit the Lithuanian *dauau* of *suk dauau* might also be contrasted with the Gothic *tauja* I do (with which our *thun* is no way connected) but then the Lithuanian auxiliary verb would belong rather to the root of to give than to that of to place for the Gothic requires *tenues* for primitive medials but not for such as the Lithuanian which possesses no aspirates opposes to the Sanscrit aspirated medials which in Gothic appear likewise as mediale. But if the Gothic *tauja* I do proceeds from the Sanscrit root, *dâ* to give it then furnishes the only example I know of where the Gothic *au* corresponds with a Sanscrit *â* but in Sanscrit itself *du* for *a* is found in the first and third person singular of the reduplicated preterite where ददौ *daddu* I or he gave is used for *daddâ* (from *daddâ-a*) The relation however of *tau* to *dâ* (and this appears to me better) might be thus regarded that the *d* has been weakened to *u* and an unradical *a* prefixed to the latter letter for that which takes place regularly before *h* and *r* (see § 82) may also for once have occurred without such an occasion

526 The idea that the Latin imperfects in *bam* as also the futures in *bo* contain the verb substantive and in fact the root from which arise *fu* *fore* and the obsolete conjunctive *fuam* has been expressed for the first time in my System of Conjugation If it is in general admitted that grammatical forms may possibly arise through composi-

tion, then certainly nothing is more natural than, in the conjugation of attributive verbs, to expect the introduction of the verb substantive, in order to express the copula, or the conjunction of the subject which is expressed by the personal sign with the predicate which is represented by the root. While the Sanscrit and Greek, in that past tense which we term aorist, conjoin the other roots of the verb substantive, viz *AS*, *ES*, with the attributive roots, the Latin betakes itself, so early as the imperfect, to the root *FU*, and I was glad to find, what I was not aware of on my first attempt at explaining the forms in *bam* and *bo*, that this root also plays an important part in grammar in another kindred branch of language, viz in Celtic, and exhibits to us, in the Irish dialect of the Gaelic, forms like *meal-fa-m*, or *meal-fa-mar*, or *meal-fa-moid*, "we will deceive," *meal-fa-dhe*, or *meal-fa-bar*, "ye will deceive," *meal-fa-d*, "they will deceive," *meal-fa-dh me*, "I will deceive" (literally "I am who will deceive"), *meal-fa-i*, "thou wilt deceive," *meal-fa-dh*, "he will deceive." The abbreviated form *fam* of the first person plural, as it is wanting in the plural affix, answers remarkably to the Latin *bam*, while the full form *fa-mar* (*r* for *s*) comes very near the plural *ba-mus*. The circumstance, that the Latin *bam* has a past meaning, while that of the Irish *fam* is future, need not hinder us from considering the two forms, in respect to their origin, as identical, partly as *bam*, since it has lost the augment, bears in itself no formal expression of the past, nor *fam* any formal sign of the future. The Irish form should be properly written *fiam* or *biam*, for by itself *biad me* signifies "I will be" (properly "I am what will be"), *biodh-maod*, "we will be," where the character of the third person singular has grown up with the root, while the conditional expression *ma bhiom*, "if I shall be," is free from this incumbrance. In these forms, the exponent of the future relation is the *i*, with which, there-

for the Latin *i* of *nam bis amabit* &c. and that of *erit* &c. is to be compared. This characteristic *i* is however dislodged in composition in order to lessen the weight of the whole form and at the same time the *b* is weakened to *f* so that while in Latin according to the form of the isolated *sum fore suum* in the compound formations *sum so* might be expected but in Irish *ham* the relation is exactly reversed. The reason is however in the Roman language also an euphonic one for it has been before remarked (§ 19) that the Latin in the interior of a word prefers the labial medial to the aspirates so that while the Sanskrit *bh* in the corresponding Latin forms always appears as *f* in the initial sound in the interior *b* is almost as constantly found hence *tu bi* for तुभ्यम् *tu bhyam* *ou bus* for सूरिभ्यम् *au bhyas*, *ambo* for Greek ἀμφω Sanskrit उभौ *ubhau* *nuber* for नभम् *nabhas* *icfo* *ruber* from रभ् *rabh* whence स्रग्म *saurabha* *enraged* *furious* *lulci* for लुभति *lubhyati* *he wishes* *ruber* for ρυθπος with which it has been already rightly compared by Voss the labial being exchanged for a labial and the *c* dropped which letter evinces itself from the kindred languages to be an unoriginal prefix. The Sanskrit furnishes for comparison *rudhira* *blood* and with respect to the root also *rohita* for रौहित *red*. In *rufus* on the contrary the aspirate has remained and if this had also been the case in the auxiliary verb under discussion perhaps then in the final portion of *ama sum ama so* derivatives from the root whence proceed *sum suum fore fio facio* &c. would have been recognised without the aid of the light thrown upon the subject by the kindred languages. From the Gaelic dialects I will here further cite the form *ba* *he was* which wants only the personal sign to be the same as the Latin *bat* and like the latter ranks under the Sanskrit Zend imperfect *abharat barat*. The Gaelic *ba* is however deficient in the other persons and in order to say I

was," for which, in Irish, *bann* might be expected, *ba me* is used, i.e. "it was I."

527 The length of the class-vowel in the Latin third conjugation is surprising as in *leg-ĕ-bam*, for the third conjugation, is based, as has been remarked (§ 109^a 1) on the Sanscrit first or sixth class, the short *a* of which it has corrupted to *ĭ*, before *r* to *ĕ*. Ag Benary believes this length must be explained by the concretion of the class vowel with the augment*. It would, in fact, be very well, if, in this manner, the augment could be attributed to the Latin as the expression of the past. I cannot, however, so decidedly assent to this opinion, as I have before done,† partly as the Zend also, to which I then appealed as having occasionally preserved the augment only under the protection of preceding prepositions, has since appeared to me in a different light (§ 518.) There are, it cannot be denied, in the languages, unorganic or inflective lengthenings or diphthongizations of vowels, originally short, as, in Sanscrit, the class vowel just under discussion before *m* and *v*, if a vowel follows next, is lengthened (*vah-ā-mi*, *vah-ā-vas*, *vah-ā-mas*), and as the Gothic does not admit a simple *i* and *u* before *r* and *h*, but prefixes to them, in this position, an *a*. The Latin lengthens the short final vowel of the base-words of the second declension (which corresponds to the Sanscrit *a* and Greek *o*) before the termination *-rum* of the genitive plural (*lupō-rum*), just as before *-bus* in *ambō-bus*, *duō-bus*, and it might be said that the auxiliary verb *bam* also felt the necessity of being supported by a long vowel, and

* System of Latin sounds, p 29. It being there stated that the coincidence of the Latin *bam* with the Sanscrit *abhāram* had not as yet been noticed, I must remark that this had been done in my Conjugational System, p 97.

† Berlin Jahrb January 1838 p 13

that therefore *leg e bam* not *leg e-bam* or *leg i bam* is employed

528 In the fourth conjugation the *ē* of *audiebam* corresponds to the final *a* of the Sanscrit character of the tenth class *aya* which *a* has been dropped in the present with the exception of the first person singular and third person plural but in the conjunctive and in the future which according to its origin is likewise to be regarded as a conjunctive (*audiam audiās audiās*) has been retained in concretion with the mood exponent (see § 50.) As the Latin *e* frequently coincides with the Sanscrit diphthong *e* (= *a + i*) and the future *tundēs tundemus tundētis* answers to the Sanscrit potential *tudes tudēma tudeta* (from *tudais* &c) so might also the *ē* of *tund ē bam* and *iē bam* be divided into the elements *a + i* thus *tundēbam* might be explained from *tundaibam* where the *a* would be the class vowel which in the present as remarked above (§ 109 1) has been weakened to *i* so that *tund i s* *tund i t* answers to the Sanscrit *tud a si tud a ti* The *i* contained in the *ē* of *tund-ē bam* would then be regarded as the conjunctive vowel for uniting the auxiliary verb thus *tundēbam* would be to be divided into *tunda i bam*. This view of the matter might appear the more satisfactory as the Sanscrit also much favours the practice of uniting the verb substantive in certain tenses with the principal verb by means of an *i* and indeed not only in roots ending in a consonant where the *i* might be regarded as *i* means of facilitating the conjunction of opposite sounds but also in roots which terminate in a vowel and have no need at all of any such means *e g dhav-i shyāmi* I will move and *adhāv-i sham* I moved *dhō shyāmi* and *adhāu sham* might be used and would not be inconvenient to pronounce

529 In favour of the opinion that the augment is contained in the *ē* of *audiebam* the obsolete futures of the

fourth conjugation in *ibo* might be adduced (*expedibo*, *scibo*, *aperibo*, and others in Plautus), and the want of a preceding *ê* in these forms might be explained by the circumstance, that the future has no augment. But imperfects in *ibam* also occur, and thence it is clear, that both the *î* of *-ibo*, and that of *-ibam*, should be regarded as a contraction of *iê*, and that the difference between the future and imperfect is only in this, that in the latter the full form (*iê*) has prevailed, but in the former has been utterly lost. In the common dialect *ibam*, *ibo* from *eo*, answer to those obsolete imperfects and futures, only that here the *î* is radical. From the third person plural *eunt* (for *vunt*), and from the conjunctive *eam* (for *vam*), one would expect an imperfect *iêbam*.

530 Let us now consider the temporal augment, in which the Sanscrit agrees with the Greek, just as it does in the syllabic augment. It is an universal principle in Sanscrit, that when two vowels come together they melt into one. When, therefore, the augment stands before a root beginning with *a*, from the two short *a* a long *â* is formed, as in Greek, from *ε*, by prefixing the augment for the most part, an *ῆ* is formed. In this manner, from the root of the verb substantive अस as, EZ, arise आस *âs*, HΣ, whence, in the clearest accordance, the third person plural आसन् *âsan*, ἦσαν, the second आस्ता *âsta*, ἦστε, the first आस्मा *âsma*, ἦμεν, the latter for ἦσμεν, as might be expected from the present ἐσμέν. In the dual, ἦστον, ἦστην, answer admirably to आस्तम् *âs-tam*, आस्ताम् *âs-tām*. The first person singular is, in Sanscrit, *âsam*, for which, in Greek, ἦσαν might be expected, to which we are also directed by the third person plural, which generally is the same as the first person singular (where, however, *ν* stands for *ντ*). The form ἦν has passed over a whole syllable, and is exceeded by the Latin *eram* (from *esam*, see § 22) in true preservation of the original form, as in general the Latin has, in the

verb substantive nowhere permitted itself to be robbed of the radical consonant with the exception of the second person present but according to its usual inclination has weakened the original *s* between two vowels to *r*. It is highly probable that *eram* was originally *éram* with the augment. The abandonment of the augment rests therefore simply on the shortening of the initial vowel.

531 In the second and third person singular the Sanscrit introduces between the root and the personal signs *s* and *t* an *i* as the conjunctive vowel hence *dsis dsit*. Without this auxiliary vowel these two persons would necessarily have lost their characteristic as two consonants are not admissible at the end of a word as also in the Veda dialect in the third person there really exists a form *ॠसद्* with which the Doric *ῥς* agrees very well. But the Doric *ῥς* also might with Kruger (p. 234) be deduced from *ῥτ* so that *ς* would be the character of the third person the original *τ* of which as it cannot stand at the end of a word would have been changed into the cognate *ς* which is admissible for the termination. According to this principle I have deduced neuters like *τετυφος τερας* from *τετυφοτ τεπατ* as *προς* from *πρωτ* = Sanscrit *prati* (see § 152 end). If *ῥς* has arisen in a similar manner from *ῥτ* this form would be the more remarkable because it would then be a solitary example of the retention of the sign of the third person in secondary forms. Be this how it may still the form *ῥς* is important for this reason as it explains to us the common form *ῥι* the external identity of which with the *ῥν* of the first person must appear surprising. In this person *ῥν* stands for *ῥμ* (middle *ῥμην*) but in the third *ῥν* has the same relation to the Doric *ῥς* that *τυπτομεν* has to *τυπτομες* or that in the dual *τερεκτον* *τερπεκτον* have to the Sanscrit *tarpatham tarpatas* (§ 97) and I doubt not also that the *ν* of *ῥν* was a corruption of *ς*.

Remark.—In Sanscrit it is a rule that roots in *s* when

they belong, like *as*, to a class of conjugation which, in the special tenses, interposes no middle syllable between the root and personal termination, changes the radical *s* in the third person into *t*, and at will in the second person also, where, nevertheless, the placing an *s* and its euphonic permutations is prevalent (see my smaller Sanscrit Grammar, § 291) शास् *śās*, “to govern,” forms, in the third person, solely *ásāt*, in the second *ásās* (अशः *ásáh*), or likewise *ásāt*. As regards the third person *ásāt*, I believe that it is better to regard its *t* as the character of the third person than as a permutation of the radical *s*. For why else should the *t* have been retained principally in the third person, while the second person prefers the form *ásās*? At the period when the Sanscrit, like its sister languages, still admitted two consonants at the end of a word, the third person will have been *ásās-t*, and the second *ásāt-s*, as *s* before another *s* freely passes into *t* (see § 517 Rem) in the present state of the language, however, the last letter but one of *ásās-t* has been lost, and *ásāt-s* has, at will, either in like manner dropped the last but one, which it has generally done hence, *ásā(t)s* or the last, hence *ásāt(s)*”

532 With असीस् *ásī-s*, “thou wast,” असीत् *ásī-t*, “he was,” the forms *ásas*, *ásat*, may also have existed, as several other verbs of the same class, in the persons mentioned, assume at will *a* or *i*, as *aródās*, *aródāt*, “thou didst weep,” “he did weep”, or *aródas*, *aródāt*, from *rud* (the Old High German *ruuzu*, “I weep,” pre-supposes the Gothic *ruta*, Latin *rudo*) I believe that the forms in *as*, *at*, are the elder, and that the forms in *is*, *it*, have found their way from the aorist (third formation), where the long *ī* of *abódhīs*, *abódhīt* is to be explained as a compensation for the sibilant which has been dropped, which, in the other persons, is united with the root by a short *i* (*abódh-i-sham*, *abódh-i-shva*, *abódh-i-shma*). The pre-supposed forms *ásas*, *ásat*, are confirmed by the Zend,

SANSKRIT	PIURAI GREEK	LATIN
<i>âsma,</i>	$\hat{\eta}(\sigma)\mu\epsilon\nu,$	<i>erâmus</i>
<i>âsta,</i>	$\hat{\eta}\sigma\tau\epsilon,$	<i>erâtis</i>
<i>âsan,</i>	$\hat{\eta}\sigma\alpha\nu,$	<i>erant</i>

“Remark The analogy with *bam*, *bâs*, may have occasioned the lengthening unorganically of the conjunctive vowel in Latin, where the length of quantity appears as an unconscious result of contraction, since, as has been shewn above (see § 365), *bam*, *bâs*, &c., corresponds to the Sanscrit *a-bhavam*, *a-bhavas*. After dropping the *v*, the two short vowels coalesced and melted down into a long one, in a similar manner to that in which, in the Latin first conjugation, the Sanscrit character *aya* (of the tenth class), after rejecting the *y* has become *â* (§ 504), and hence, *amâs*, *amâtis*, corresponds to the Sanscrit *lâmayasi*, “thou lovest,” *lâmayatha*, “ye love.” The necessity of adjusting the forms *eram*, *erâs*, &c., to those in *bam*, *bâs*, and of placing throughout a long *â*, where the final consonant does not exert its shortening influence, must appear so much the greater, as in the future, also, *eris*, *erit*, *erimus*, *eritis*, stand in the fullest agreement with *bis*, *bit*, *bimus*, *bitis*, and for the practical use of the language the difference of the two tenses rests on the difference of the vowel preceding the personal termination. A contrast so strong as that between the length of the gravest and the shortness of the lightest vowel makes its appearance, therefore, here very desirably. That the *i* of the future is not simply a conjunctive vowel, but an actual expression of the future, and that it answers to the Sanscrit *ya* of *-yasi*, *-yati*, &c., or, reversing the case, that the *â* of the imperfect is simply a vowel of conjunction, and has nothing to do with the expression of the relation of time, this can be felt no longer from the particular point of view of the Latin.

533 In roots which begin with *i*, *î*, *u*, *û*, or *vi*, the Sanscrit augment does not follow the common rules of

sound according to which *a* with *i* or *ī* is contracted into *ē* ($=a+i$) and with *u* or *ū* to *o* ($=a+u$) and with *ri* (from *ar*) becomes *ar* but for *इ ई दु* is employed for *अः* *अः दु* and for *अः अः दः* as from *ichh* to wish" (as substitute of *ish*) comes *dichham* I wished from *uksh* to sprinkle comes *duksham* I sprinkle. It can not be ascertained with certainty what the reason for this deviation from the common path is. Perhaps the higher augment of the vowel is to be ascribed to the importance of the augment for the modification of the relation of time and to the endeavour to make the augment more perceptible to the ear in roots beginning with a vowel than it would be if it were contracted with *i* *ī* to *ē* or with *u* *ū* to *ō* thereby giving up its individuality. Perhaps too the preponderating example of the roots of the first class which require Guna before simple radical consonants has operated upon the roots which possess no Guna so that *dichham* and *uksham* would be to be regarded as regular contractions of *a-ichham* *a-uksham* although *ichh* as it belongs to the sixth class and *uksh* to class one on account of its length by position admits of no other Guna.

1331. In roots which begin with *a* the augment and reduplication produce in Sanskrit an effect exactly the same as if to the root *अः* (*to be*) *a* was prefixed as the augment or the syllable of reduplication so in both cases from *a* *aa* only *dy-*

—

As *ē* consists of *a+i* and *ō* of *a+u* the first element of these diphthongs naturally melts in with a preceding *a* to *i* and the product of the whole is *i au*. In roots which begin with *ri* we must hit on and the form *r* which arises through the augment as a root originally not from *ri* but from the original *ar* of which *ri* is an abbreviation, as also the reduplication syllable *ri* (*Vara* this I can I will not from *U* *ri* which the grammarians assume as the root but from the proper root *U* *ar* (*५* *Vocali mu* १ *Iti* *५*) by weakening the *a* to *i* while in the reduplication syllable this weakening ceases and *balhar* or *balhara* means I bore.

can arise, and *āsa* is the first and third person of the perfect. In roots, however, which begin with *i* or *u* the operations of the augment and of reduplication are different, for *iśh*, "to wish," and *uśh*, "to burn" (Latin *uro*), form, through the augment, *āśh*,* *dush*, and, by reduplication, *īśh*, *ūśh*, as the regular contraction of *i-īśh*, *u-ūśh*. In the persons of the singular, however, with Guna, the *i* and *u* of the reduplication syllable before the vowel of the root, which is extended by Guna, passes into *iy* and *uv*, hence, *iy-ēśha*, "I wished," *uv-ōśha*, "I burned," corresponding to the plural *īshma*, *ūshma*, without Guna.

535. In roots beginning with a vowel the tenses which have the augment or reduplication are placed, by the Greek, exactly on the same footing. The reduplication, however, cannot be so much disregarded, as to be overlooked where it is as evidently present as in the just-mentioned (§ 531) Sanscrit *īshma*, *ūshma* (= *i-īshma*, *u-ūshma*). When from an originally short *i* and *u* a long *ī* and *ū* arise, as in ἱκέ-τεον, ἱκέτευκα, ὑβρίζον, ὑβρισμαι, I regard this, as I have already done elsewhere,† as the effect of the reduplication,

* Aoust *āśhisham*, the imperfect is formed from the substitute *ichh*.

† Annals of Oriental Literature (London, 1820 p. 41). When, therefore, Kruger (Citt. Gramm. § 99) makes the temporal augment consist in this that the vowel of the verb is doubled, this corresponds, in regard to ἱκέ-τεον, ὑβρίζον, ὑβρισμαι, ὠμίλεον, ὠμίληκα, with the opinion expressed, I e. by me, but M. Kruger's explanation of the matter seems to me too general, in that, according to it, verbs beginning with a vowel never had an augment, and that therefore, while the Sanscrit *āsan*, "they were," is compounded of *a-asan*, *i e* of the augment and the root, the Greek *ἦσαν* would indeed have been melted down from *ἐ-σαν*, but the first *c* would not only be to the root a foreign element accidentally agreeing with its initial sound, but the repetition or reduplication of the radical vowel. Then *ἦσαν*, in spite of its exact agreement with the Sanscrit *āsan* would have to be regarded, not as one of the most remarkable transmissions from the primitive period of the language, but the agreement would be mainly fortuitous, as *āsan* contained the augment, *ἦσαν*, however, a syllable of reduplication

and look upon the long vowel as proceeding from the repetition of the short one as in the Sanscrit, *ishama dīsham* I or why should an *e* or *o* arise out of *e*+*i* or *e* when this contraction occurs nowhere else and besides when *ei* is so favourite a diphthong in Greek that even *e*+*e* although of rare occurrence in the augment, is rather contracted to *ei* than to *η* and the diphthong *eu* also records well with that language? As to *o* becoming *ω* in the augmented tenses one might if required recognise them in the augment since *e* and *o* are originally one and both are corruptions from *α*. Nevertheless, I prefer seeing in *ωοπαζοι* the reduplication rather than the augment since we elsewhere find *e*+*o* always contracted to *ei* not to *ω* although in dialects the *ω* occurs as a compensation for *ou* (Doric *τωτοπω τως τοπως*).

33 The middle the imperfect of which is distinguished from the regular active only by the personal terminations described in § 165. See exhibits only in the third person singular and plural a resemblance between the Sanscrit Zend and Greek which strikes the eye at the first glance compare *εἴπετο* to *εἴπε-ο-ντο* with the Sans. *abhar a ta abhar-a nta* and the Zend *bar-a ta bar-a nta*. In the second person singular forms like *εοικε* *ισσο* answer very well to the Zend like *hu nu sha* than didst praise (§ 109) while in the first conjugation the agreement of the Greek and Zend is somewhat disturbed in that the Zend according to a universal law of sound has changed the original termination *in* after a preceding *a* to *ha* (see § 8) and attached to it a nasal sound (*n*) but the Greek has contracted *e so* to *oi* thus *εἴποι* from *εἴπε-ε so* answering to the Zend *bar-an hu* for which in Sanscrit *a bhar a thās* (see § 109). In the first person sin-

plication I should certainly, however prefer recognising in all Greek verbs beginning with a vowel, the reduplication alone rather than the augment alone and from the Greek point of view without reference to the Sanscrit this view would appear more correct.

gular *अभरे* *abharé* from *abhar-a-i* for *abhar-a-ma* (see § 471), appears very disadvantageously compared with *ἐφερ-ό-μην*. In the first person plural, *ἐφερ-ό-μεθα* answers, in respect to the personal termination, better to the Zend *bar-â-maidhê* than to the Sanscrit *abhar-â-mahi*, the ending of which, *mahi*, is clearly abbreviated from *madhi* (see § 472). In the second person plural, *ἐφέρ-ε-σθε* corresponds to the Sanscrit *abhar-a-dhvam*,* and Zend *bar-a-dhuwēm* * in the dual, for the Greek *ἐφέρ-ε-σθον*, *ἐφερ-έ-σθην* (from *ἐφερ-ε-ττον*, *ἐφερ-έ-ττην*, see § 474), stand, in Sanscrit, *abharêthâm*, *abharêtâm* from *abhar-a-âtâm*, *abhura-d-tâm* (according to the third class *abibhi-âthâm*, *abibhr-âtâm*), and this, according to the conjecture expressed above (§ 474), from *abhar-a-thâthâm*, *abar-a-tâtâm*.

“Remark I can quote in Zend only the third person singular and plural, the latter instanced in *nṛpārayanta*, which occurs in the Vend S p 484 in the sense of a conjunctive present† (*nṛpārayanta āpēm*, ‘*transgrediantur aquam*’) which, according to what has been remarked at § 520, need not surprise us. The third person singular can be copiously cited. I will here notice only the frequently recurring *ἄδδα* *ādta*, ‘he spoke,’ *παῖ-ἄδδα* *pañi-ādta*, ‘he answered,’ the *a* of which I do not regard as the augment, as in general the augment has almost disappeared in Zend (see § 518), but as the phonetic prefix mentioned in § 28. But how is the remaining *ōcta* related to the Sanscrit? The root *वच्* *vach* is not used in the middle, but if it were, it would, in the third person

* From *ἐφερ-έ-ττε*, *abhar-a-ddhvam*, *bhar-a-ddhuwēm*? see § 474.

† Compare Burnouf, *Yagna*, p 518. In Sanscrit the verb *pārayāmi*, mid *pārayê*, corresponds, which I do not derive with the Indian grammarians from the root *पृ* *pṛi*, “to fulfil,” but regard as the denominative of *pāra*, “the farther shore” this *pāra*, however, is best derived from *para*, “the other.”

singular of the imperfect form *avakta* without the augment *vakta* and hence by changing *ia* to *a + u* (for *a + i*) the Zend *avakta* might be deduced with the regular contraction of the *a + u* to *o** As in Sanscrit the root *vac* in many irregular forms has laid aside *a* and vocalized the *v* to *u*† we might also for *avakta*

* On the value of *o* as long *o* see § 447 Note

† As regards my explanation of the *u* which takes the place of *ia* in the root *vac* and many others in certain forms devoid of Guna Professor Hofer (Contributions to Etymology p 384) finds it remarkable that we so often overlook what is just at hand and thinks that in the case under discussion the *u* is not to be deduced from the *v* of *ia* but that from *ia + u* has been formed and of this, after rejecting the *i* only the *u* has remained In this however M Hofer has on his part overlooked that the derivation of *u* from *ia + u* cannot be separated from the phenomena which run parallel thereto according to which *i* proceeds from *ya* and *ri* from *ra* It is impossible to deduce *grīyate capitur* for *grīyat* in such a manner that from *ra + ri* can be derived as from *ia + u* and thus pre-suppose for *grīyat* a *grīiyat* and hence drop the *r* But what is more natural than that the semi vowels should at times reject the vowel which accompanies them as they themselves can become a vowel? Is not the relation of the Old High German *ir ye* to the Gothic *yus* founded on this? and even that of the Gothic genitive *zara* to the to be expected *yi zara*? Or may not from *yus* be next formed *yi* and hence *ir* by rejecting the *y*? Can it be that the Gothic nominative *thus* the servant has arisen from the theme *thua* not which is the readiest way of deriving it by the *v* becoming *u* after the *o* has been rejected but by forming from *thua* first *thuu* and then by dropping the *t* in the nominative *thus* and in the accusative *thu*? I fully acknowledge M Hofer's valuable labours with regard to the Prakrit but believe that in the case before us, he has suffered himself to be misled by this interesting and instructive dialect It is true that the Prakrit is more frequently founded on forms older than those which come before us in classic Sanscrit I have shewn this among other places in the instrumental plural (§ 290) where however as usual the Prakrit in spite of having an older form before it has nevertheless been guilty of admitting at the same time a strong corruption This is the case with the Prakrit

vac cladi dicatur I willingly concede to M Hofer that this form is based

suppose a form *a-ukta* (without the euphonic contraction), and hence, in Zend, deduce, according to the common contraction, the form *ôcta*, to which *ôcta* then, according to § 28, an *a* would be further prefixed, so that in 𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 *aôcta* an augment would in reality be concealed, without being contained in the initial *a*. This special case is here, however, of no great importance to us, but this alone is so, that *aôcta*, in its termination, is identical with the Sanscrit, and comes very near the Greek $\tau\omicron$ of $\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}\tau\omicron$, $\epsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\kappa\text{-}\nu\upsilon\text{-}\tau\omicron$. To the latter answers the often recurring *hu-nû-ta*, 'he praised' (compare Greek $\psi\text{-}\mu\nu\omicron\varsigma$), with an unorganic lengthening of the *u*. From the latter may, with certainty, be derived the abovementioned second person *hu-nu-sha*, after the analogy of the aorist *urûrudhusha* (see § 469). In the first person plural I have contrasted the form *bar-a-mardhê*, which is not distinguishable from the present, with the Greek $\epsilon\text{-}\phi\epsilon\rho\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$, for it is clear, from the abovementioned (§ 472) potential 𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 *bûndhyôimardhê*, that the secondary forms are not distinguished, in the first person plural, from the primary ones, after dropping the augment, therefore, no difference from the present can exist. The form *bar-a-dhwēm* of the second person plural follows from the imperative quoted by Burnouf (*Yaçna*, Notes, p XXXVIII), as 𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 *zayadhwēm*, 'live ye,' and the precative 𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 *dayadhwēm*, 'may he give'."*

based on some other older one than the present Sanscrit *uchyatê*, but I do not thence deduce a *vuchyatê*, but merely *vachyatê*, for which the Prakrit is not at all required. The Prakrit, like many other languages, has, in very many places, weakened an original *a* to *u* (see p 363). why, then, should it not have occasionally done so after the *v*, which is homogeneous to the *u*, as the Zend, according to Burnouf's conjecture, has sometimes, through the influence of a *v*, changed a following *a* to *ô*?

* In my opinion, this form (of which more hereafter) must be taken for a precative, not for an imperative.

ORIGIN OF THE AUGMENT

537 I hold the augment to be identical in its origin with the *a* privative and regard it therefore as the expression of the negation of the present. This opinion which has been already brought forward in the *Annals of Oriental Literature* has since then been supported by A. Benary* and Hartung (*Greek Particles* II 110) but opposed by Lassen. A. however Professor Lassen will allow of no explanation whatever of grammatical forms by annexation and bestows no credit on the verb substantive clearly as it manifests itself in many tenses of attributive verbs treating it like the old everywhere and nowhere. I am not surprised that he errs in the explanation of the augment just given the culminating point of the agglutination system and is astonished that the first ancestors of the human race instead of saying, I saw should be supposed to have said I see not. This however they did not do since by the negative particle they did not wish to remove the action itself but only the present time of the same. The Sanskrit, in general uses its negative particles in certain compounds in a way which at the first glance and without knowing the true object of the language appears very extraordinary. Thus *anuttama* : the highest does not lose its signification by having the negative particle *a* prefixed to it (which as in Greek before vowels receives the addition of a nasal) *anuttama* is not the not highest or the low but in like manner the highest nay even emphatically the highest or the highest of all. And yet it cannot be denied that in *anuttama* : the particle *a* has really its negative force but *onuttama* : is a possessive compound and *abala* : (from *a* and *bala*) not having strength means therefore weak thus *onuttama* : signifies properly *qui altissimum non habet* and

* Berlin Jahrb. July 1833 pp 70 &c

hence, "*quo nemo altior est*" It might be expected, that every superlative or comparative would be used similarly, that also *apunyaatama-s* or *apunyaatana-s* would signify "the purest", but the language makes no further use of this capability, it does not a second time repeat this jest, if we would so call it, at least I am unacquainted with any other examples of this kind. But what comes much nearer this use of the augment, as a negative particle, than the just cited *an* of *anullama*, is this, that *éka*, "one," by the prefixing negative particles, just as little receives the meaning not one (*οὐδέκίς*), "none," as *ἄετι* *véd-mi*, "I know," through the *a* of *a-véd-am*, gets that of "I know not." By the negative power of the augment, *védmi* loses only a portion of its meaning, a secondary idea, that of present time, and thus *éka-s*, "one," by the prefix *an* or *na* (*anéka*, *náka*), does not lose its existence or its personality (for *éka* is properly a pronoun, see § 309), nor even the idea of unity, inasmuch as in 6, 7, 8, &c, the idea of "one" is also contained, but only the limitation to unity, as it were the secondary idea, "simply." It would not be surprising if *anéka* and *náka* expressed, in the dual, "two," or, in the plural, "three," or any other higher number, or also, "a few," "some", but it signifies, such is the decision of the use of language, "many"*. It cannot, therefore, be matter of astonishment, that *avédam*, through its negative *a*, receives the signification "I knew,"

* When Vorlander, in his Treatise, which I have just seen, entitled "Basis of an organic acquaintance with the human soul," p 317, says, "Negation of the present is not past," he is in the right, but it may be said with equal right, "negation of one is not plurality" (it might, in fact, be two, three, or nothing), and yet the idea "many" is clearly expressed by the negation of unity, or limitation to unity, and in defence of the language it may be said, that though the negation of present time is not past time, and that of unity not plurality, still the past is really a negation of the present, plurality a negation, an overleaping of unity, and hence both ideas are adapted to be expressed with the aid of negative

and not that of I shall know. For the rest also the past which is irrevocably lost forms a far more decided contrast to the present than the future does to which we approach in the same degree the farther we depart from the past. And in form too the future is often no way distinguished from the present.

538 From the circumstance that the proper *a* privative which clearly manifests a negative force assumes both in Sanscrit and Greek an euphonic *n* before a vowel initial sound while the *a* of the augment in both languages is condensed with the following vowel (§ 530) we cannot infer a different origin for the two particles. Observe that *sradu* sweet as feminine forms in the instrumental *siddi d* while in the masculine and neuter it avoids the hiatus not by changing *u* into *i* but by the insertion of an euphonic *n* (compare § 159). And the augment and the common *a* privative are distinguished in the same way since they both apply different means to avoid the hiatus.

negative particles *I see* *ters* in certain cases negation can also be expressed by an expression for the past

It sen *Be en*

Sei l s geuesen!

where *geuesen* means the same as no more. Language never expresses any thing perfectly but everywhere only brings forward the most conspicuous mark or that which appears so. To discover this mark is the business of etymology. A tooth haver is not an elephant, a hair haver does not fully express a lion and yet the Sanscrit calls the elephant *dantin* the lion *I esin*. If then a tooth *danta* is derived from *ad* 'to eat' (dropping the *a*) or from *dans* to bite (dropping the sibilant) we may again say an eater or biter is not exclusively a tooth (it might also be a dog or a mouth) and thus the language revolves in a circle of incomplete expressions and denotes things imperfectly by any quality whatever which is itself imperfectly pointed out. It is however certain that the most prominent quality of the past is what may be termed the non present by which the former is denoted more correctly than the elephant is expressed by tooth haver.

The division may have arisen at a period when, though early (so early, in fact, as when the Greek and Sanscrit were one), the augment was no longer conscious of its negative power, and was no more than the exponent of past time, but the reason why was forgotten, as, in general, the portions of words which express grammatical relations then first become grammatical forms, when the reason of their becoming so is no longer felt, and the *s*, which expresses the nominative, would pass as the exponent of a certain case relation only when the perception of its identity with the pronominal base *sa* was extinguished.

539 From the Latin privative prefix *in*, and our German *un*, I should not infer even if, as is highly probable, they are connected with the *a* privative that the nasal originally belonged to the word, for here three witnesses

three languages in fact which, in most respects, exceed the Latin and German in the true preservation of their original state, speak in favour of the common opinion, that the nasal, in the negative particle under discussion, in Sanscrit, Zend, and Greek, is not a radical. It cannot, however, surprise us, if a sound, which is very often introduced for the sake of euphony, has remained fixed in one or more of the cognate dialects, since the language has, by degrees, become so accustomed to it that it can no longer dispense with it. We may observe, moreover, as regards the German languages, the great disposition of these languages, even without euphonic occasion, to introduce an unorganic *n*, whereby so many words have been transplanted from the vowel declension into one terminating with a consonant, viz into that in *n*, or, as Grimm terms it, into the weak declension, and the Sanscrit *vidharā*, "widow," Latin *vidua*, Slavonic *vdova* (at once theme and nominative), in Gothic is in the theme *vidurōn* (genitive *vidurōn-s*), whence is formed, in the nominative, according to § 140, by rejecting the *n*, *vidurō*. If *an* was,

in Sanscrit the original form of the prefix under discussion its *n* would still be dropped not only before consonants but also before vowels for it is a general rule in Sanscrit that words in *n* drop this sound in the beginning of composites hence *rājan* *kin*, forms with *putra* *rāja putra* "king's son" and with *indra* "prince" *rājendra* "prince of kings" since the *a* of *rājan* after dropping the *n* is contracted with a following *i* to *ē* ($=a+i$). The inseparable prefixes however in respect to the laws of sound follow the same principles as the words which occur also in an isolated state. If *an* therefore were the original form of the above negative particle and of the augment identical with it then the two would have become separated in the course of time for this reason that the latter following strictly the universal fundamental law would have rejected its *n* before vowels as before consonants the former only before consonants.

510 In § 51st we have deduced the Sanscrit negative particles *a* and *na* from the demonstrative bases of the same sound since the latter when taken in the sense of "that" are very well adapted for the putting off of a thing or quality or the removing it to a distance. If *an* were the original form of the *a* privative and of the augment then the demonstrative base *अन* *ana* whence the Latinian *ana* *s* or *an* *s* and the Slavonic *on* that would aid in its explanation. The identity of the augment with the privative *a* might however be also explained which indeed in essentials would be the same by assuming that the language in prefixing an *a* to the verbs did not intend the *a* negative nor to deny the presence of the action but under the *a* meant the actual pronoun in the sense of "that" and thereby wished to transfer the action to the other side to the distant time already past and that it therefore only once more repeated the same course of ideas as it followed in the creation of negative expressions. According to this explanation the augment and the *a*

privative would rather stand in a fraternal relation than in that of offspring and progenitor. The way to both would lead directly from the pronoun, while in the first method of explanation we arrive, from the demonstrative of distance, first to the negation, and thence to the expression of past time, as contrary to present. According to the last exposition, the designation of the past through the augment would be in principle identical with that in which, through the isolated particle *स्म sma*, the present receives a past signification. I hold, that is to say, this *sma* for a pronoun of the third person, which occurs declined only in certain cases in composition with other pronouns of the third person (§§. 165 &c), and in the plural of the two first persons, where *asmé* means (in the Vêda dialect) properly "I and she" ("this, that woman"), *yu-shmé*, "thou and she" (§ 333)*. As an expression of past time, *sma*, which also often occurs without a perceptible meaning, must be taken in the sense of "that person," "that side," "there," as W von Humboldt regards the Tagalish and Tongian expression for past time *na*, which I have compared with the Sanscrit demonstrative base *na*, and thus indirectly with the negative particle *na*, † where I will further remark that I have endeavoured to carry back the expression for the future also, in Tongian and Madagascarian, to demonstrative bases, viz. the Tongian *te* to the Sanscrit base *ta* (which the languages of New Zealand and Tahiti use in the form *te* as article), and the Madagascarian *ho* to the base *sa* (§ 345), which appears in the Tongian *he*, as in the Greek *ὅ*, as the article ‡

* To the derivation of *sma*, given at p 464, Rem †, it may be further added, that it may also be identified with the pronominal base *sia* (see § 341), either by considering its *m* as a hardened form of *v* (comp p 114), or *vice versa* the *v* of *sia* a weakening of the *m* of *sma*.

† See my Treatise "On the Connection of the Malay-Polynesian Languages with the Indo-European," pp 100, &c

‡ L c pp 101, 104

511 No one would consider the circumstance that in Greek the augment appears in the form *ε* but the negative particle in the form *α* which is identical with the Sanskrit as a valid objection against the original identity or relationship of the two particles for it is extremely common in Greek for one and the same *α* to maintain itself in one place and be corrupted in another to *ε* as *τετυφα* and *τετυφε* both lead to the Sanskrit *tutopa* which stands both in the first and in the third person as the true personal termination has been lost and only the conjunctive vowel has remained which in Greek except in the third person singular appears everywhere else as *α*. It is however certain that from the point of view of the Greek we should hardly have supposed the augment and the *α* privative to be related as the spiritual points of contact of the two prefixes lie much too concealed. Buttmann derives the augment from the reduplication so that *ετυτοι* would be an abbreviation of *τετυτοι*. To this however the Sanskrit opposes the most forcible objection in that it contrasts with the imperfect *ετυτοι* its *atōpam* but with the really reduplicated *τετυφα* its *tutōpa*. The Sanskrit augmented tenses have not the smallest connection with the reduplicated perfect which in the repeated syllable always receives the radical vowel (shortened if long) while the augment pays no regard to the root and always uses *α*. If *ι* were the vowel of the augment then in the want of a more satisfactory explanation we might recognise in it a syllable of reduplication because the syllables of reduplication have a tendency to weakening to a lightening of their weight and *ι* as the lightest vowel is adapted to supply the place of the heaviest *α* and does also actually represent this as well as its long vowel in the reduplication syllable of desideratives* and

* Hence *pip s* to wish to drink, for *japīs* or *p p s*, from *ji* *pipatish* to wish to cleave for *papāfish* from *pat* so also *tiblarim* I carry

in a certain case, supplies the place of the vowel *u* too, which is of middling weight, viz where, in the second aorist in verbs beginning with a vowel, the whole root is twice given, e g औनिनम् *āuninam* for औनूनम् *āunūnam*, from *ūn*, “to diminish” I cannot, however, see the slightest probability in Pott’s opinion (Etym Forsch II 73), that the *a* of the augment may be regarded as a vowel absolutely, and as the representative of all vowels, and thus as a variety of the reduplication. This explanation would be highly suitable for such verbs as have weakened a radical *a* to *u* or *i*, and of which it might be said, that then augment descends from the time when their radical vowel was not as yet *u* or *i* but *a*. But if, at all hazards, the Sanscrit augment should be considered to be the reduplication, I should prefer saying that a radical *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū* has received Guna in the syllable of repetition, but the Guna vowel alone has remained, and thus *avēdam* for *ēvēdam* (= *avaīdam*), this from *iēvēdam*, *abōdham* for *ībōdham* (= *aubaudham*), and thus from *bōbōdham*.

“Remark According to a conjecture expressed by Hofer (Contributions, p 388), the augment would be a preposition expressing ‘with,’ and so far identical with our *ge* of participles like *gesagt*, *gemacht*, as the German preposition, which, in Gothic, sounds *ga* and signifies ‘with,’ is, according to Grimm’s hypothesis, connected with the Sanscrit स *sa*, सम् *sam* (Greek σύν, Latin *cum*). Of the two forms स *sa*, सम् *sam*, the latter occurs only in combination with verbs, the former only with substantives. In order, therefore, to arrive from *sam* to the augment *a*, we must assume that, from the earliest

“I carry,” for *babharāmi*, from *bhar* (*bhri*), *tishthāmi*, “I stand,” for *tashtāmi*, see § 508, in Greek, δάδομι for δώδομι (Sanskrit *dadāmi*), and others

* This seems to require qualification. *Sam* is found constantly in combination with substantives, as in संवत्सर, संस्थिति, समन्त, &c. In some cases the form may be considered as derived through a compound verb, but not in all, as in the instance of *samanta* —H II W

period that of the identity of the Sanscrit and Greek the said preposition where used to express time has laid aside its initial and terminating sound like its body and only preserved the soul that is the vowel while in the common combination with verbs the *s* and *m* of *sam* has lived as long as the language itself and while in German we make no formal distinction between the *ge* which merely by an error attaches itself to our passive particles and that which accompanies the whole verbs and its derivatives as in *geboren Geburt geniessen Genuss*. If for the explanation of the augment so trifling a similarity of form is satisfactory as that between *a* and *sam* then other inseparable prepositions present themselves which have equal or greater claim to be identified with the expression of past time for instance अप *apa* from away and अत *ata* from down off अति *ati* over (*atikram* to go over also to pass to elapse used of time) We might also refer to the particle स्म *sma* mentioned above which gives past meaning to the present and assume the rejection of its double consonant. It is certain however that that explanation is most to the purpose by which the past prefix has suffered either no loss at all or if *an* is assumed to be the original form of the negative particle only such as according to what has been remarked above (§ 539) takes place regularly at the beginning of compounds. It is also certain that the past stands much nearer to the idea of negation than to that of combination partly as the augmented preterites in Greek stand so far in contrast to the perfect as their original destination is to point to past time and not to express the completion of an action. We will not here decide how far in Gothic and Old High German an especial preference for the use of the particle *ga ge* is to be ascribed to the preterite but F Grimm who was the first to refer this circumstance to the language (II 843 844) adds to the examples given this remark. A number of passages in Gothic Old

High German, and Middle High German, will exhibit it (the preposition under discussion) as well before the present as wanting before the preterite, even where the action might be taken as perfect. I maintain only a remarkable predilection of the particle for the preterite, and for the rest I believe that, for the oldest state of the language, as in New High German, the *ge* became independent of temporal differences. It had then still its more subtle meaning, which could not be separated from any tense.' This observation says little in favour of Hofer's opinion, according to which, so early as the period of lingual identity, we should recognise in the expression of the past the preposition *sam*, which, is hypothetically akin to our preposition *ge*. Here we have to remark, also, that though, in Gothic and Old High German, a predominant inclination for the use of the preposition *ga*, *ge*, must be ascribed to the preterite, it never possessed *per se* the power of expressing past time alone, for in *gavasida*, 'he dressed,' *gavasidédun*, 'they dressed' (made to dress), the relation of time is expressed in the appended auxiliary verb, and the preposition *ga*, if not here, as I think it is, entirely without meaning, and a mechanical accompaniment or prop of the root, which, through constant use, has become inseparable, can only at most give an emphasis to the idea of the verb. At all events, in *gavasida* the signification which the preposition originally had, and which, however, in verbal combinations appears but seldom (as in *ga-gri-man*, 'to come together'), can no longer be thought of."

THE AORIST

542 The second Sanscrit augmented-preterite, which, on account of its seven different formations, I term the multi-form, corresponds in form to the Greek aorist, in such wise, that four formations coincide more or less exactly with the first aorist, and three with the second. The forms which coincide with the first aorist all add *s* to the root, either

directly or by means of a conjunctive vowel *i*. I recognise in this *s* which under certain conditions becomes *ṣ* *sh* (see § 21 and Sanscrit Grammar § 101*) the verb substantive with the imperfect of which the first formation agrees quite exactly only that the *d* of *dsam* &c. is lost and in the third person plural the termination *us* stands for *an* thus *sus* for *dsan*. The loss of the *d* need not surprise us for in it the augment is contained, which in the compound tense under discussion is prefixed to the root of the principal verb the short *a* which remains after stripping off the augment might be dropped on account of the enunciation caused by composition so much the easier as in the present also in its isolated state before the heavy terminations of the dual and plural it is suppressed (see p 670). Thus the *sma* of *akshāp-sma* we did cast is distinguished from *smas* we are only by the weakened termination of the secondary forms belonging to the norist. In the third person plural when *us* stands for *an* this happens because *us* passes for a lighter termination than *an* and hence in the imperfect also in the roots encumbered with reduplication regularly takes the place of *an* hence *abibhr us* they bore for *abibhr an* and according to the same principle *akshāp-sus* for *akshāp san* on account of the encumbering of the root of the verb substantive by the preceding attributive root.

543 Before the personal terminations beginning with *t* *th* and *dh* roots which end with a consonant other than *n* reject the *s* of the verb substantive in order to avoid the harsh combination of three consonants hence *akshāp-ta* we did cast for *akshāp-sa* as in Greek from a similar euphonic reason the roots terminating with a consonant abbreviate in the perfect passive the terminations *σθαι σθε* to *θοι θε* *τετυφθε τεταχθε* for *τετυφσθε τεταξθε* and in Sanscrit from a similar reason the root *sthā* to stand loses its sibilant if it would come directly in contact with the preposition *ut*, hence *ut thata* up stood for *ut sthata*.

ment is wanting to complete a perfect countertype of the Sanscrit form. The third person *scripsit* answers better to the active form *akshāpsit* which without Vriddhi would sound *akshupsit* the Latin *rex* (*lec sil*) answers to the Sanscrit *राजिर्लक्ष्मि* *arājshut* of the same import and *agun rex* corresponds to the middle *avakshi*. The two languages have from a regard to euphony changed their *h* before the *s* of the verb substantive into the guttural tenuis and *k* requires in Sanscrit *क्* *sh* for *क्ष* *s* (see p 21). The comparison of *rex* with *avakshi* may appear the better substantiated as the second person also *rexit* can be traced back to a middle termination viz to *thās* of *akshup thās* (for *akshupsthās*) so that the final *s* would have been dropped and *k* have been weakened to *r*. I now prefer this explanation to that according to which I have formerly identified the termination *sti* with the Sanscrit perfect termination *tha*, and in general I consider the Latin perfect which according to its meaning might just as well have been called aorist entirely independent of the Greek and Sanscrit perfect in order that in all its forms I may refer it to the aorist. In this no great obstacles stand in our way for while perfects in *si* at the first glance shew themselves to be aorists although not so readily by comparison with the Greek as with the Sanscrit even *cucurri momordi cecini* and similar forms in spite of their reduplication do not oppugn the theory of the aorist formation and very well admit of being placed beside forms like *achuchuram* middle *achuchure* (from *achūchurai*) from *chur* to steal and Grecian forms as *επεφραδον* *ἐπεφροι* of which more hereafter. They would therefore like the imperfect and the aorists as *scripsi vixi mansi* have merely lost the augment and have thus been associated with the Sanscrit and Greek perfect.

547 Perfects like *scabi vidi legi fugi fodi* exclusive of the lengthening of their vowel might be compared with

Sanskrit aorists like अलिपम् *alipam*, middle *alipē* (from *alipai*), and Greek as ἄλιπον. On account of the lengthening of the vowel, however, this comparison appears inadmissible, and I believe that, in their origin, they agree with forms like *scripsi*, *veni*, or with such as *cucurri*, *tutudi*. In the first case, the lengthening of the vowel must pass as compensation for the *s* of the verb substantive, which has been dropped, on the same principle as that on which *divisi*, from *dividsi*, on account of the loss of the *d*, has lengthened its short radical vowel, or as in Greek, forms like μέλας, ἰστᾶς, διδούς, δεικνύς, πούς, τιθείς, in compensation for the loss of a consonant, have received an indemnification in preceding vowel. Still closer lies the comparison with aorists like ἔφηνα, ἔψηλα, *cu-phrāna*, ἔστειλα, ἔμεινα. It is certain that the liquids, also, must, in the aorist, have originally admitted the combination with *σ*, and that forms like ἔφανσα (as in Sanskrit, *amansi*, in Latin, *mansi*), ἔψαλσα, ἔστειλα, have existed, and that in these aorists the length of the vowel is in consequence of the suppression of the *σ*. But if Latin perfects like *lēgi*, *fugī*, according to their origin, should fall to the Sanskrit seventh aorist formation (*achúchuram*, *asísīlam*, or *asísīlam* from *śíl*), they then contain a concealed reduplication, as, according to Grimm, do our preterites, as *hiefs*, Old High German *hiaz*, (= Gothic *haihait*), and *lēgi*, *scābi*, *fūgi*, *fōdi*, *le-egi*, *sca-abi*, *fu-ugi*, *fo-odi*, for *lelegi*, *scacabi*, &c., with suppression of the consonant of the second syllable, by which that of the first loses the appearance of a consonant affixed by reduplication, as is the case in the Greek γίνομαι from γίγνομαι (for γι-γεν-ο-μαι), where, after removing the *γ* of the base syllable, the syllable γιν receives the appearance of a radical syllable, while in fact only the *ν* represents the root *

* A Benary, also (System of Roman Sounds, pp 41, &c.), explains forms

548 I must decidedly pronounce forms like *cēpi feci* to be reduplicated and I have already done this when I recognised in them true perfects* As perfects they would be analogous to Sanscrit forms like अङ्गम *tepima* we atoned of which hereafter As aorists they have अनेङ्गम *anēsam* I was ruined for their prototype which I deduce from *ananisam* by dropping the *n* of the second syllable and I refer it to the seventh aorist formation while the Indian grammarians regard it as an anomaly of the sixth Therefore like अनेङ्गम *anesam* from *ana(n)isam* I regard *cēpi* as a contraction of *cacipi* as the Latin *e* as a colligation of *a + i* frequently answers to the Sanscrit *e* *e g* in *leur* corresponding to the Sanscrit *devat* (*devri*) With regard to the second syllable of the pre supposed forms like *cacipi fasci* we may compare such perfects as *cecini tetigi* which in like manner on account of the root being loaded with the reduplication have weakened the radical *a* to *i* The forms *cēpi feci* &c must however have arisen at a period where the law had not as yet been prescribed to the syllables of reduplication of replacing the heaviest vowel *a* by *e* but when as yet the weakening of the radical vowel in the syllable of the base was sufficient But if the previous existence of forms like *cacipi fasci* is not admitted and *cecipi feci* are made to precede the present *cēpi feci* we must then

forms like *fodi fodi* from reduplication but assumes the dropping of the syllable of reduplication and the lengthening of the radical syllable in compensation for its loss, against which I have expressed my opinion in the Berlin Jahrb (Jan 1838 p 10) since this explanation unlike the re active effect of a suppression, by compensation in the preceding syllable has no other analogous case to corroborate it

* In my Review of Benary's System of Roman Sounds (Berlin Jahrb l c p 10) Since then Pott also in his Review of the same book (in the Hall Jahrb) has mentioned this case but declared himself without sufficient grounds in my opinion against my view of the matter

deduce *cēpi* from *cepi*, *fēu* from *feui*, in such wise that the first vowel absorbs the second, and thereby becomes long, just as I have already, in my System of Conjugation, deduced conjunctives like *legās*, *legāmus*, from *legais*, *legaimus*. The form *ēgi* has this advantage over other perfects of the kind, that it has not lost a consonant between the two elements of which its *i* is composed, *i e* between the syllable of repetition and that of the base: it is the contraction of *a-igi* or *e-igi*, and therefore, together with *ēdi*, *ēmī*, if the latter are likewise regarded as reduplicated forms (from *e-cdi*, *e-cmī*), deserves particular notice. As we ascribe an aoristic origin to the Latin perfects, we might also see in *ēgi*, *ēdi*, *ēmī*, a remnant of the augment.

549 I return to the second person singular in *sti*. If in *ti*, of *serpsisti*, *veristi*, *cucurristi*, *cēpisti*, we recognise the Sanscrit medial termination *thās*, and in the whole an aorist, then *serpsisti* does not answer so exactly to *alship-thās* for *alshipstās* as to the fourth aorist formation, which, indeed, is not used in the middle, and in roots ending with a consonant, not in the active also, but which originally can scarcely have had so confined a use as in the present state of the language, and, together with the active *ayāsisham* (from *yā*, "to go"), we might expect the previous existence of a middle, whence the second person would be *ayā-sishthās*, in which forms like *serpsisti* are, as it were, reflected. The Sanscrit सृप *sṛip* (from *sarip*), would, according to this formation, if it were used in the middle, produce *asṛip-sishthās*. We may notice, also, with regard to the *s* which precedes the *t* in the forms *serpsisti*, *serpsistis*, which, in §. 454, has been explained as an euphonic addition, that the Sanscrit precativē, which in the middle likewise unites the *s* of the verb substantive with the root (either directly, or through a conjunctive vowel *i*), prefixes another *s*, which is, perhaps, merely euphonic, to the personal terminations beginning with *t* or *th*, which *s*,

through the influence of the preceding *i* becomes *sh*. The second person singular of the root *srip* if it were used in the middle would be *sripsishthás* to which the Latin *serpsisti* approaches closely where however it is to be observed that the *i* of the Latin *serp-s-i-sti* is only a conjunctive vowel while the *i* of *सृपिषिथस* *sripsishthás* expresses the relation of mood. The third person singular is *sripsishta* the second and third person dual *sripsiyásthám* *sripsiyáslám* but the second sibilant does not extend farther e.g. the first person plural is no more *sripsish mahi* than in Latin *serpsismus* but *sripsimahi* like *serpsimus*. Yet the Sanskrit readily admits the combination *shim* for it uses according to the third aorist formation *abodhushma* we knew middle *abódhushmahí*.

550 In support of the opinion that in the second person singular of the Latin aorists which are called perfects a middle termination is contained which however has lost sight of this origin and passes for a common active I will call attention to the fact that even in Greek in spite of its possessing a perfect middle voice an original middle form has in a particular case taken its position in the active voice, for in the third person plural imperfect *τεπνοῦσιν* corresponds almost as exactly as possible to the Sanskrit middle *tarpantám*. In languages in which the middle as a voice is wanting individual formal remnants of that voice can have been only maintained where they fill up the place of any hiatus which has arisen in the active or stand beside an active termination which has been likewise retained bearing the same meaning as it does and being as it were a variation of it as in Irish in the first person plural together with the form *mar* = Sanskrit *mas* Latin *mus* Greek *μες*) a *maoid* exists which at will assumes its place and which I have already elsewhere compared with the Zend *maidhé* and Greek

μεθα, for which the Sanscrit gives *mahé*, as an abbreviation of *madhé* (§ 472)

551 As regards the Latin first person singular in *si*, in spite of the striking resemblance of forms like *avakshi*, *amansi*, the coincidence may so far be said to be accidental, as their *i* may be explained as a weakening of *a*, so that the termination *si* of Latin perfects would correspond to the Greek $\sigma\alpha$ of ἔλυσ-σα, ἔτυπ-σα. I am really of opinion, that the Latin forms in *si* do not correspond to the Sanscrit first aorist formation, but, at least for the majority of persons, to the second, which, like the Grecian first aorist, inserts an *a* between the *s* of the verb substantive and the personal terminations. This *a* is treated nearly as, in the special tenses, the *a* of the first and sixth class (see §. 109^a 1), viz lengthened, in the first person dual and plural, before *va* and *ma*. As, then, the *a* of *vah-a-si*, *vah-a-ti*, *vah-a-tha*, appears in the Latin *veh-i-s*, *veh-i-t*, *veh-i-tis*, as *i*, in like manner the *ā* of *vah-ā-mus* appears as *i* in *veh-i-mus*, so that we soon arrive at the conjecture that the *i* of *dic-si-sti*, *dic-si-t*, *dic-si-mus*, *dic-si-stis*, is a weakening of *a*, and that therefore *si* corresponds to the Greek $\sigma\alpha$, the Sanscrit *sa*, *sā* (euphonic *sha*, *shā*), thus, *dic-si-mus* = ἐδέικ-σα-μεν, *adik-shā-ma*, *dic-si-stis* = ἐδῆικ-σα-τε, *adik-sha-ta*. The connection, therefore, between *vec-si-t* and the Sanscrit *avāk-shī-t* would not be so close, as I before assumed, and for *avāk-shī-t* we should have to imagine a form of the second formation thus *avāk-sha-t*—in order to compare with it *vec-si-t*, as *dic-si-t* actually answers to *adik-sha-t* (Greek ἐδῆικ-σε from ἐδῆικ-σα-τ, compare ἐδῆικ-σα-το). In the second person, *dic-si-sti* answers to the Sanscrit middle *adik-sha-thās*, “thou shewest,” if the *s*, which precedes the *t*, is only of a euphonic nature, and introduced by the inclination of the *t* to a preceding *s*.

552 But even if the Latin perfect forms in *si* are

allotted to the Sanserit second and Greek first aorist formation still it remains most highly probable that the first person singular belongs to the middle voice, for the vowel *a* of the aorist formation under discussion is rejected in Sanserit before the termination *i* of the first person middle and while according to the analogy of the imperfect *adikshê* (= *adik-sha i*) might be expected instead of it is found *adik shi* in most exact accordance with the Latin *dic si*. From the active form *adisham* it is a difficult step to the Latin *dixi* for although in Greek a final *m* is sometimes entirely lost and for example *ἐδείξα* corresponds to the Sanserit *adiksham* and in the accusative singular of bases ending with a consonant *a* answers to the Sanserit *am* (*ποδα padam pedem*) yet in Latin the final *m* of the Sanserit has in similar cases always been retained for example in the first person the blunt termination of the secondary forms has been without exception maintained in preference to the more full *mi* of the primary forms thus *dicēbam dicam dicerem dixerim* and so it is highly probable that in the perfect also *dixim* would be said if the first person was based on the Sanserit active *adiksham* and not on the middle. It is certain that at the period of the unity of the languages the abbreviated forms *adikshi* could not as yet have existed but for it perhaps *adikshama* or *adishamām* (= *ἐδείξαμην* see § 471). But even these forms conduct us more readily than *adiksham* to the Latin *dixi* since the first person singular in Latin has lost its termination exactly where another vowel stood after the *m*.

5.3 In the third person plural the Latin *dixerunt* apparently corresponds to the Sanserit and Greek *adikshan* *ἐδείξαν*. It scarcely admits of any doubt that the *r* has proceeded from *s* (as is common between two vowels) and that therefore in *dic sērunt* for *dic-sēsunt* (as *eram ero* for *esam eso*) the auxiliary verb is twice contained or is

μεθα, for which the Sanscrit gives *mahê*, as an abbreviation of *madhê* (§ 472).

551 As regards the Latin first person singular in *si*, in spite of the striking resemblance of forms like *avakshi*, *amansi*, the coincidence may so far be said to be accidental, as their *i* may be explained as a weakening of *a*, so that the termination *si* of Latin perfects would correspond to the Greek $\sigma\alpha$ of ἔλυσ- $\sigma\alpha$, ἔτυπ- $\sigma\alpha$. I am really of opinion, that the Latin forms in *si* do not correspond to the Sanscrit first aorist formation, but, at least for the majority of persons, to the second, which, like the Grecian first aorist, inserts an *a* between the *s* of the verb substantive and the personal terminations. Thus *a* is treated nearly as, in the special tenses, the *a* of the first and sixth class (see § 109^a. 1), viz lengthened, in the first person dual and plural, before *va* and *ma*. As, then, the *a* of *vah-a-si*, *vah-a-ti*, *vah-a-tha*, appears in the Latin *veh-i-s*, *veh-i-t*, *veh-i-tis*, as *i*, in like manner the *â* of *vah-â-mus* appears as *i* in *veh-i-mus*, so that we soon arrive at the conjecture that the *i* of *dix-si-sti*, *dix-si-t*, *dix-si-mus*, *dix-si-stis*, is a weakening of *a*, and that therefore *si* corresponds to the Greek $\sigma\alpha$, the Sanscrit *sa*, *sâ* (euphonic *sha*, *shâ*), thus, *dix-si-mus* = ἐδέικ- $\sigma\alpha$ -μεν, *adik-shâ-ma*, *dix-si-stis* = ἐδέικ- $\sigma\alpha$ -τε, *adik-sha-ta*. The connection, therefore, between *vec-si-t* and the Sanscrit *avâk-shî-t* would not be so close, as I before assumed, and for *avâk-shî-t* we should have to imagine a form of the second formation thus *avak-sha-t*—in order to compare with it *vec-si-t*, as *dix-si-t* actually answers to *adik-sha-t* (Greek ἔδεικ-σε from ἔδεικ- $\sigma\alpha$ -τ, compare ἐδείκ- $\sigma\alpha$ -το). In the second person, *dix-si-sti* answers to the Sanscrit middle *adik-sha-thâs*, “thou shewest,” if the *s*, which precedes the *t*, is only of a euphonic nature, and introduced by the inclination of the *t* to a preceding *s*.

552 But even if the Latin perfect forms in *si* are

allotted to the Sanscrit second and Greek first aorist formation still it remains most highly probable that the first person singular belongs to the middle voice for the vowel *a* of the aorist formation under discussion is rejected in Sanscrit before the termination *i* of the first person middle and while according to the analogy of the imperfect *adikshê* (= *adik-sha i*) might be expected instead of it is found *adik shi* in most exact accordance with the Latin *dic-si*. From the active form *adiksham* it is a difficult step to the Latin *dixi* for although in Greek a final *m* is sometimes entirely lost and for example *ἐδίδαξα* corresponds to the Sanscrit *adiksham* and in the accusative singular of bases ending with a consonant *a* answers to the Sanscrit *am* (*πῶα padam pedem*) yet in Latin the final *m* of the Sanscrit has in similar cases always been retained for example in the first person the blunt termination of the secondary forms has been without exception maintained in preference to the more full *mi* of the primary forms thus *dicēbam dicam dicerem dixerim* and so it is highly probable that in the perfect also *dixim* would be said if the first person was based on the Sanscrit active *adiksham* and not on the middle. It is certain that at the period of the unity of the languages the abbreviated forms *adikshi* could not as yet have existed but for it perhaps *adikshama* or *adikshamām* (= *ἐδίδαξαμι* see § 471). But even these forms conduct us more readily than *adiksham* to the Latin *dixi* since the first person singular in Latin has lost its termination exactly where another vowel stood after the *m*.

553 In the third person plural the Latin *dixerunt* apparently corresponds to the Sanscrit and Greek *adikshan ēdeiξαν*. It scarcely admits of any doubt that the *r* has proceeded from *s* (as is common between two vowels) and that therefore in *dic sērunt* for *dic-sesunt* (as *eram ero* for *esam eso*) the auxiliary verb is twice contained or is

reduplicated, whether this form belongs to the Sanscrit fourth formation, where *a-yā-sishus* has proceeded from *a-yā-sishant*, or, as is more probable, the third person, first on Roman ground, and after the aim and origin of the *s* of *dic-si* had been forgotten, felt the necessity for being clearly invested with the verb substantive. This distinctness, however, subsequently became indistinct. As regards this superiority of the third person plural to the other persons, it is in accordance with the phenomenon, that, in Greek, *ἐτίθc-σα-ν*, *ἔθc-σα-ν*, are used, but not *ἐτιθέ-σα-μεν*, *ἐτιθέ-σα-τε*, not *ἐθέ-σα-μεν*, *ἐθέ-σα-τε*. The short termination not forming a syllable may have favoured the annexation of the auxiliary verb. This reason, however, did not exist in the middle passive, hence, *ἐτίθc-ντο*, not *ἐτιθέ-σα-ντο*. The Prakrit regularly annexes, in the first person plural of the present and imperative, the verb substantive, without extending it to the second and third person, as, गच्छाम्हा (*mha* from स्म *sma*), “we go”*

554 To return to the Latin *dirēunt*, we might, instead of it, expect *dirēunt*, with short *ē*, as *i* before *i* is readily replaced by *ē*. The long *e*, however, is just as surprising

* See p 110, and comp Lassen *Institutiones Ling. Pracr*, pp 192, 325, *Essai sur le Pali*, p 181, Hofei *De Pracr. Dial*, p 184. As Professor Lassen has, in this place, recognised the verb substantive, and been the first to remark it, although it is in like manner represented only by a single letter, it is difficult to conceive why he prefers to recognise in the *s*, which, in several Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin tenses, extends to all the persons of the three numbers, rather the old “everywhere” and “nowhere,” than the verb substantive (Ind. Biblioth. III p 76). Such a tradition must appear to me more flattering than to hear that the verb substantive was so palpable in the places mentioned, especially in Sanscrit, that it could not escape even the most short-sighted eye. I must certainly consider it honourable to me to have perceived so long ago as the year 1816 that which astonishes Professor Lassen in 1830, whose acuteness has been so abundantly testified in other departments of Sanscrit philology.

as that of *dic ē-bam* for *dic i bam*, and it may be added to what was remarked in § 527 that the *ē* of *lege bam* and that of *lege runt* probably rest on the same principle that in both forms the originally short vowel has been lengthened that the whole might gain more power to bear the appended auxiliary verb. From this principle may also be explained the Vriddhi increase of *अक्षद्विषाम्* *akshādvīpsam* which does not prevent the assumption that on account of the preponderating weight of the middle terminations this vowel increase has been withdrawn in order not to make the whole too unwieldy. Remark the case already mentioned that the imperative termination *धि* *dhi* has preserved its full form only under the protection of a preceding consonant and in the Gothic preterite all verbs which have a long vowel or diphthong in the root and a part of those with *a* before a doubled consonant on account of this powerful formation can bear the syllable of reduplication. But if only powerful forms can bear certain burthens it need not surprise us if the language in order to extend to its vocables the requisite capacity introduces a lengthening of vowels or diphthongizations which have this object alone. It is probable that in Sanscrit a middle also with *ai* for *i* corresponded to the abovementioned *akshādvīpsam* (§ 541) and the abbreviation may have commenced through the retreating influence of the personal terminations of the middle which were heavy at the time when no abbreviation existed—at a period when the language was no longer conscious that the great vowel fulness of *akshādvīpsam* was occasioned for this very reason in order to afford a more powerful support for the burthen of the auxiliary verb.

555 The formation of the aorist under discussion in spite of its wide diffusion in Greek and Latin is in Sanscrit of only limited use and has been retained only in roots in *s* *sh* and *h* without however necessarily

belonging to those letters, or extending to all roots with these terminations, as before *s* they all pass into *h*. On account of the *h*, according to § 21, the *s* of the auxiliary verb is changed into *sh*, and thus *hsh* of *adikhsham*, *adikhsh*, "I shewed," corresponds to the Greek and Latin *x* (= *hs*) of *ἔδειξα*, *dixi* * I annex a general view of the complete conjugation of the two active forms

SANSKRIT		SINGULAR	GREEK	LATIN
<i>adik-sha-m</i> ,	<i>adik-shi</i> ,	ἔδικ-σα,	ἔδικ-σά-μην,	<i>dixi</i>
<i>adik-sha-s</i> ,	<i>adik-sha-thās</i> ,	ἔδικ-σα-ς,	ἔδικ-σω,	<i>dixi-si</i>
<i>adik-sha-t</i> ,	<i>adik-sha-ta</i> ,	ἔδικ-σε,	ἔδικ-σα-το,	<i>dixi-t</i>
		DUAL		
<i>adik-shā-va</i> ,	<i>adik-shā-vahi</i> ,		ἔδικ-σά-μεθον,	.
<i>adik-sha-tam</i> ,	<i>adik-shā-thām</i> , ¹	ἔδικ-σα-τον,	ἔδικ-σα-σθον,	.
<i>adik-sha-tām</i> ,	<i>adik-shā-lām</i> , ²	ἔδικ-σά-την,	ἔδικ-σά-σθην,	
		PLURAL.		
<i>adik-shā-ma</i> ,	<i>adik-shā-mahi</i> ,	ἔδικ-σα-μεν,	ἔδικ-σά-μεθα,	<i>dixi-mus</i> .
<i>adik-sha-ta</i> ,	<i>adisk-sha-dhvam</i> ,	ἔδικ-σα-τε,	ἔδικ-σα-σθε,	<i>dixi-stis</i>
<i>adik-sha-n</i> ,	<i>adik-sha-nta</i> ,	ἔδικ-σα-ν,	ἔδικ-σα-ντο,	<i>dixi-sē-unt</i> .

¹ From *adik-sha-āthām*

² From *adik-sha-ātām*

556 As the Sanscrit, in its periphrastic formation of the reduplicated preterite, of which we will speak more in detail hereafter, together with *hri*, "to make," applies the two roots of "to be," since *chōrayām-āsa*, like *chōrayām-babhūva*, signifies "I" and "he stole," so the Latin, also, for its aorist perfects, has called in the aid both of *ES* and *FU*. From *FU* I have already, in my System of Conjugation, derived the syllable *vi*, *ui*, of *ama-vi*, *audi-vi*, and *mon-ui*. I think, however, I have been wrong in com-

* The connection of *dico* with *δείκνυμι* is unacknowledged. remark the mode of expression *dixi causa*

paring the *v* and *u* of *vi ui* with the *f* of *fui*. It appears better instead of rejecting the *u* of *fui* to assume that the *f* has been dropped just as in *duo* the *d* in *viginti bis bi* (*bi-pes*) has been lost or as in Tongrian *ua* corresponds to the New Zealand *dua* two (=Sanskrit *dva*)

557 The *u* of (*f*)*ui* according to the prevailing principle has been changed between two vowels into *i* but with a consonant preceding it is retained hence *amui audiui* contrasted with *monui*. *Fui* found occasion for abbreviation in the incumbrance of the preceding principal verb according to the same principle as that by which the first syllable of the Latin *decem decim* (*undecim duodecim*) has escaped the French contractions like *dou-e treize* or as the *d* of the number ten in several Asiatic and European Sanscrit dialects is weakened to *r* or *l* *

558 The most convincing proof that in *amui audiui monui* is contained the verb substantive is furnished by *potui* for this form belongs to a verb throughout which the combination with the verb substantive prevails. The tenses from *ES* which are in use select this root thus *pos-sum* (from *pot sum*) *pot eram pot ero pos sim pos sem* but the perfect must betake itself to *FU fui* hence *pot ui* for *pot fui* which would be inadmissible. *Pof fui* might have been expected but the language preferred abandoning one of the irreconcilable consonants and it would be difficult for any one on account of the loss of the *f* to declare the form *potui* contrary to the analogy of all the other tenses to be simple. But if *pot ui* is compounded then the application of this unmistakable hint of the language with regard to *mon ui ama ui audi-ui sê-vi si vi mō-vi* is apparent of itself. We may observe that this *vi* also just as *bam* and *runt* (*legē bam legē*

* P 435 &c From the same come the Mal and Javan *las* and Maldivian *los* of forms like *d a-b las* (Mal) *ro las* (Jav) *ro-los* (Maldiv) twelve

runt, *scripsé-runt*), feels the necessity of being supported by a long vowel, and hence, in place of the short vowel of *séro*, *sālum*, *sīno*, *sīlum*, *mōveo*, *mōtum*, exhibits a long one (compare §§ 527 554)

559 In order that the perfects in *ui*, *vi*, may, from their origin, appear as aorists, we must carry back the simple *fui* itself to an aorist, and this is easily done. It is only necessary to observe the close connection between *fuit* and the Sanscrit and Greek aorist *a-bhūt*, *ἐφύ(τ)*. On account of its personal sign *t*, *fuit* answers less to *babhūva*, *πέφυκε*, if the loss of the syllable of reduplication is admitted as readily as that of the augment. I shall return hereafter to this subject.

560 The third Sanscrit aorist formation is distinguished from the second in this, that the auxiliary verb is connected with the root of the attributive verb by means of a conjunctive vowel. Through the influence of this *i* the *s* is changed into *sh*, but is, at the same time, preserved from suppression in those cases where the first formation, to avoid the accumulation of three consonants, drops the sibilant (see §. 543). While *kship*, in the second person plural, exhibits *akshāipta* for *akshāipsta*, from *budh*, "to know," comes, in the same person, *abōdh-i-stha*. On the other hand, in the third formation in the second and third person singular active, the sibilant is lost, and the conjunctive vowel is lengthened in compensation, as it appears to me, for this loss, hence, *abōdh-i-s*, "thou knewest," *abōdh-i-t*, "he knew," in contrast with *abōdh-i-sham*, and all the other persons. I believe I perceive the ground of this isolation in this, that, as the second and third person singular have a simple *s* and *t* for their terminations, the retention of the sibilant would occasion the forms *abōdhiksh* (euphonic for *abodhīsh-s*), *abōdhisht*, whence, according to a universal law of sound (see § 94), the last consonant would have to be rejected. In the case before us, however, the language preferred, for the sake of perspicuity, rather to give up the auxiliary verb than the personal sign,

although in the imperfect the case frequently occurs that the second and third person singular are of the same sound because they have lost their distinguishing mark hence *abibhar aia* signify both thou didst carry thou didst speak and he did carry he did speak in the first case for *abibhar sh aia* (*sh* after *r* and *k* becomes *sh*) in the second for *abibhar t aia t* I annex the full formation of *abôdh i sham* and its middle with the remark that the radical vowel in roots ending with a consonant receives Guna in the two active forms while roots ending with a vowel as in the first formation have in the active Vriddhi in the middle Guna *e g anâvisham anavishi* from *nu* to praise

ACTIVE

SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
<i>abôdh i sham</i>	<i>abodh i shia</i>	<i>abôdh i shma</i>
<i>abôdh i s</i>	<i>abodh i shiam</i>	<i>abôdh i shia</i>
<i>abodh i t</i>	<i>abodh i shiam</i>	<i>abodh i shus</i>

MIDDL.

abôdh ı shı	abôdh ı shvahu	abôdh ı shmahı
abodh ı shıthās	abôdh ı shāthām	abôdh ı ddhıram
abôdh ı shıtha	abôdh ı shôlum	abodh ı shata

¹ According to the law of sound for *abu/isthām* ² Regarding the rejection of *n* see § 459, and compare Ionic forms like *παρα* at *t*

561 The contrast of *abōdhis abōdhut* with *abōdhiṣham* and all other forms^c combined with the verb substantive is very remarkably in accordance with the phenomenon that the Old Slavonic preterite in which we have recognised the Indo Greek aorist (see § 255 m) has likewise in the second and third person singular dropped the verb substantive but retained it in all the other persons But from forms like *ꙗбоѡхъ abodhis ꙗвѡхъ abōdhut* the final consonant also in Slavonic must be dropped because the Slavonic generally according to the conjecture expressed in § 255 l has

lost all the original final consonants, hence $\text{ब्रूहि } bûdî$, "thou didst wake," answers to $\text{अवोषीस् } abôdhi-i-s$, "thou didst know," or "didst awake", $\text{ब्रूहि } bûdî$, "he did awake," to $\text{अवोषीन् } abôdhit$, "he did know," "he did awake", and on the other hand, $\text{ब्रूहिस्ते } bûd-i-ste$, "ye did awake," to $\text{अवोषीयस् } abôdhi-i-shīa$, "ye did know," "ye did awake" I annex the whole for comparison, in which, however, the remarks of the following paragraph are not to be overlooked

SINGULAR		DUAL	
SANSKRIT	OLD SLAV	SANSKRIT	OLD SLAV
$abôdhi-i-sham$,	$bûd-i-ih$, ¹	$abôdhi-i-shva$,	$bûd-i-i-hom$ ²
$abôdhi-i-s$,	$bûd-i-$	$abôdhi-i-shtam$,	$bûd-i-sta$
$abôdhi-i-t$,	$bûd-i-$	$abôdhi-i-shtâm$,	$bûd-i-sta$

PIURAL

SANSKRIT	OLD SLAVONIC
$abôdhi-i-shma$,	$bûd-i-khom$ ²
$abôdhi-i-shīa$,	$bûd-i-ste$
$abôdhi-i-shus$,	$bûd-i-sha$

¹ See § 255 m² See §§ 255 m 563

562 The preceding comparison furnishes one of the fairest parallels which can be anywhere drawn between the Sanscrit and its European sister idioms. The agreement of the two languages, however, if we go back to their original forms, is not quite so perfect as might be at first glance believed. The i of the Slavonic $bûd-i-ih$ is, for instance, in its derivation, different from the i of the Sanscrit $abôdhi-i-sham$, for $bûd-i-ti$, "to wake," does not correspond to the Sanscrit primitive verbs, whence proceeds $abôdhi-i-sham$, but to the causal $bôdhayâmi$, "I make to know," "bring to consciousness," "wake", on which account we have above compared (§ 417) the second person present $bûd-i-s-i$ with $bôdh-ayah-si$, and in § 505 identified the middle i of $bûd-i-ti$ with the character aya of the Sanscrit tenth

class with which the causal forms agree. In spite of this the circumstance that the Slavonic verbs in general retain their class syllables in the tense under discussion produces in the preterite a remarkable similarity between such verbs as have *i* as the derivation vowel and the Sanskrit third formation of the aorist although in fact the Slavonic preterite belongs to the first Sanskrit aorist formation. Compare *даждь da kh* I gave *даждь da ste* ye gave with Sanskrit forms like *andī sham andī shā* दा दद् to give follows the fourth formation but would form *adāsam adāsta* according to the first.

563 In the first person dual and plural the Old Slavonic inserts between the auxiliary verb and the personal character an *o* as a conjunctive vowel so that in this respect *даждь o-ia da kh o m* agree more with the Sanskrit second and Greek first aorist formation (*adīksh ā-ia adīksh ā ma edēx α μεν*) than with *andīsha andīshma* but the *o* is not an old hereditary possession brought from the East but a subsequent insertion to avoid the combination *kh i kh m*. The Serbian also which has in its preterites (in the imperfect and in the so called simple preterite) left the sibilant of the verb substantive (where it has not been entirely dropped) in its original form has kept free from the conjunctive vowel as *igrasmo* we played. For the most part the aorist in Old Slavonic is corrupted by the gutturalization of the sibilant in the first person of the three numbers. The relation to the Sanskrit in this manner becomes similar to that of the plural locative in *kh* to the Sanskrit in *su* or *shu* as in *vidova kh* = विधवासु *vidharā su* in the widows *snokha kh* = सुनुषासु *snushā su* in the daughters in law also similar to that of the pronominal plural genitives in *kh* to the Sanskrit in *sām* or *shām* so that *ты-kh* has the same relation to *तेषु* *te shu* in respect of its mutation and abbreviation as *буд i kh* has to *अब्ध i sham*.

564 In the third person plural in Old Slavonic instead

of *sha*, *khû* also is used, but only in the case where the preceding vowel is an *a* or *u* *ye*, and then both *sha* and *khu* (regarding *û* from *on* see § 463) are used at pleasure, e.g. *MAZASHA* *mažasha*, or *MAZAKH* *mažakhû*, "they anointed", *BYEKH* *byekkhû* or *BYEHA* *byesha*, "they were"

565 In the second and third person singular, according to Dobrowsky, instead of the forms without termination, ending with the class or root vowel, those in *ME she* also occur. He gives, indeed, in his first conjugation (p. 521) from *glagolakh*, "I spoke," *glagola* as second and third person, but from *MAZAKH* *mažakh*, "I anointed," he gives *MAZAME* *mažashe* as second and third person, for which, in both persons, we find in Kopitar *MAZA* *maža*. From the special point of view of the Slavonic we might easily fancy we saw the personal sign in the *ME she* of *MAZAME* *mažashe*, "thou didst anoint," compared with the present *MAKESHU* *maskeshu*, "thou anointest," with the slight alteration of *shu* to *she*, and then assume an unorganic transfer from the second to the third person, as our German *sind* has made its way, from its proper place, into the first person, or, in Old and Anglo-Saxon, the termination of the second person plural has been imparted both to the first and third, and in the Gothic passive the third person plural has replaced both the second and first. But if, in the Old Slavonic preterite, we have recognised the Sanscrit aorist and the euphonic law, which has destroyed all original final consonants (§ 255 l.), we easily perceive that the *she* of *MAZAME* *mažashe*, "thou didst anoint," stands for *shes*, and that of *MAZAME* *mažashe*, "he anointed," for *shet*, and

* The difference of writing the third person plural between Kopitar and Dobrowsky had escaped me in §§ 463 and 465, the former (*Glagolita*, pp 61, 62) writes *SHA* *shya*, the latter, whom I have followed, *SHASHA*. Though Kopitar, as I doubt not, is right, still the form *sha*, if it never occurs even, or very rarely, is so far the elder, as the *y* of *shya* is to be considered an unorganic prefix, as in many other forms (see § 255 n.)

that thus *she(s) she(t)* of the second and third person rests on the Sans *sīṣ* *it* of the abovementioned *akshāpṣas akshāpṣit* (§ 544) I do not rely on *shas shat* of *adik shas adik shat* = ἔδεικσας ἔδεικε (p 782) for although the termination of *μαζαμε* *maža she* is nearly identical with that of ἔδεικε *se* still the second person plural *μαζαστε* *mažaste* (not *μαζαμετε* *mažashete*) teaches us that the Slavonic aorist formation belongs to the Sanscrit first not to the second (= Greek first)

566 I believe too that forms like the abovementioned *budi* thou didst wake he did wake originally had another syllable *she* thus *budi* from *būdīshe* *nese* thou didst bear" he bore from *neseshe* as in Servian all imperfects in the second and third person singular actually terminate in *she* But in the said dialect the Sanscrit aorist has split into two tenses of which one is called in Wuk's Grammar (translated by F Grimm) imperfect the other simple preterite The former carries the sibilant of the verb substantive in the form of *in sh* or *is* through all the persons with the exception of the first person singular and third plural the latter has entirely lost it in the singular but exhibits it in the plural also in the third person I annex for comparison the two tenses of *играю* *igram* I play in full

IMPERFECT		SIMPLE PRETERITE	
SINGULAR	PLURAL	SING	PLURAL
<i>igrâ *</i>	<i>igrâsmo</i>	<i>igra</i>	<i>grasmo</i>
<i>igrashe</i>	<i>igrâste</i>	<i>igrâ</i>	<i>igraste</i>
<i>igrashe</i>	<i>igrâu</i>	<i>igrâ</i>	<i>igrashe</i> ~ "

567 The Bohemian has a remnant of the preterite

* The sign *â* occurs according to Wuk in syllables in which the tone terminates roundly Remark that in the first person singular and second person plural the simple preterite is distinguished from the imperfect simply by the absence of this tone

corresponding to the Sanscrit aorist, in the tense designated by Dobrowsky as the imperfect of the optative, in which *bykh*, which is distinguished from the Old Slavonic *ѣхъ*, *byekh*, "I was," only by a different form of the radical vowel, in combination with the past participle *byl*, thus, *byl-bykh* expresses the idea "I were," or "would be" If the participle preterite follow a second time this *byl-bykh*, thus forms the pluperfect of this mood, and *bylbykh* signifies "I had been," or "would have been." Compare the conjugation of *byl-bykh* (feminine *byla-bykh*, neuter *bylo-bykh*), or rather, that of *bykh* alone, with that of the Old Slavonic *ѣхъ* *byekh*, "I was"

BOHEMIAN		OLD SLAVONIC.	
SING	PLURAL	SING	PLURAL
<i>bykh</i> ,	<i>bykhom</i> ,	<i>byekh</i> ,	<i>byekhom</i>
<i>bys</i> ,	<i>byste</i> ,	<i>bye</i> ,	<i>byeste</i>
<i>by</i>	<i>by</i> ,	<i>bye</i> ,	<i>byeshu</i> (<i>byeshya</i>)

"Remark The second person singular *bys* has the advantage over the Old Slavonic *bye* of retaining the sibilant of the auxiliary verb, while in the third person plural, *ѣша* *byesha* has, in this respect, the advantage over *by* From the Bohemian, as our point of view, the *s* of *bys* can only mark a personal termination, partly as *s* in Bohemian actually expresses the second person According to that, however, which was previously remarked regarding the *she* which occurs in Servian, and occasionally, also, in Old Slavonic, in the second and third person singular, it can admit of no doubt that the *s* of *bys* is identical with that of the second person plural, and that it has preserved the first, and not the second sibilant of Sanscrit singular persons The root *भू* *bhū*, 'to be,' according to the first aorist formation, would, in the second person singular, form *abhāushā*, and, without Vriddhi,

abhushis the middle part of which is contained in the Bohemian *bys*

568 The Old Slavonic *dakh* I gave and analogous formations remind us through their guttural which takes the place of a sibilant of the Greek aorists ἔδωκα ἔθηκα ἦκα That which in Old Slavonic has become a rule in the first person of the three numbers viz the gutturalization of an original *s* may have occasionally taken place in Greek but carried throughout all the numbers No conjecture lies closer at hand than that of regarding ἔδωκα as a corruption of ἔσωσα whether it be that the *σ* has with one step passed into *κ* or that a *κ* has placed itself beside the sibilant of the verb substantive as in the imperfect εσκοι έσκε in the old Latin future *escit* and in the imperfects and aorists in εσκον εσκομην ασκοι ασκομην as δινευσκε καλε εσκον καλεσκετο έλασκε δασασκετο in which the accession of the verb substantive is not to be overlooked which therefore is doubly contained in the forms in σα σκον σα σκομην But in ἔδωκα ἔθηκα ἦκα it being pre supposed that they were formerly εδωσκα &c only the euphonic accompaniment of the *σ* would have remained and thus an original ἔδωσα would have next become ἔδωσκα and then ἔδωκα Perhaps also a *κ* may have originally been prefixed to the *σ* of the pre-supposed εδωσα as in ξυν from συν = Sanscrit *sam* with so that thus ἔδωκα would be an abbreviation of ἔδωξα as perhaps a form *xum* preceded the Latin *cum* if it is akin to ξυν συν सम् *sam*

569 The Lithuanian also presents a form which is akin to the Greek and Sanscrit aorist in which as it appears to me *h* assumes the place of an original *s* I mean the imperative in which I recognise that Sanscrit mood which agrees with the Greek optative aorist and through which therefore the *l* of *duh* give *duhite* give ye (Sanskrit *dasidhvam* ye may give precativ medial) is connected with the *κ* of the Greek ἔσωκα But

if, then, the κ of ἔδωκα, ἔθηκα, ἤκα, has either, as I prefer to assume, directly, or through the medium of $\sigma\kappa$ or ξ , proceeded from σ ,* then there is no difficulty in deducing also the κ of perfects like δέδωκα from σ , and therefore from the verb substantive, although the Sanscrit in this sense refrains from combining with the root αs . But fundamentally all tenses have an equal claim to this root, to express the copula, and if, in Greek, imperfects like ἐδίδων, and aorists like ἔδων, in the third person plural, combine with the verb substantive, while the Sanscrit forms *adadām*, *adām*, remain simple, and if, further, the Greek dialectically combines the imperfect ἔσκειν with the imperfects of attributive verbs, and the Latin here uses its *bam*, while the Sanscrit imperfects nowhere receive the verb substantive, it cannot surprise us if the Greek restores that in the perfect which the Sanscrit has neglected. The incumbrance of the root, which occurs in the perfect through reduplication, is not favourable to the reception of the verb substantive, and the Greek also admits the addition of the κ only there where the least difficulty exists, viz after vowels and the lightest consonants, the liquids, thus, δέδωκα, indeed πεφίληκα, ἐφθαρκα, ἔσταλκα, πέφαγκα, but not τέτυπκα, πέπλκκα. but, in order to avoid the harshness of this combination, the κ of the auxiliary verb is changed to h , somewhat in the spirit of the German law for the mutation of sound,† and this, with the preceding tenuis or medial, is changed to an aspirate,

* Regarding the reverse case, the transition of gutturals into σ , see § 501

† See § 87. In the Malay-Polynesian languages, also, mutations of tennes into aspirates occur, for example, h for k and f for h . In the Madagascar, also, ts for t , as in German z instead of the aspirate of t , as *futsi*, “white,” corresponding to the Malay *pūtih* and Sanscrit *pūta*, “pure,” of the same meaning. See my Treatise on the Connection of the Malay-Polynesian Languages with the Indo-European, Remark 13

thus τετυφα for τετυπα from ττυπ κα πεπλεχα for πεπλεκα from πεπλεκκα. On the other hand in T sounds the language has preferred dropping these entirely before κ and leaving the κ in its full right and possession thus ἐψυκα πεπεικα for ἐψυδα πεπειθα. The passive on account of its heavy terminations is less favourable to the reception of the auxiliary verb. And as together with εἰδοσαι εἶδοσαι no forms εἰδουσάντο εἶδοσαιτο exist so to the active perfects in κα no passives in καμαι (or σαι with the original sound preserved) correspond. It might however be assumed that the σ which has remained in forms like τετελεσμαι ἔσπασμαι ἦνυσμαι especially after short vowels sometimes also after long ones (ἦκουσμαι) is not euphonic but belongs to the verb substantive for it is assuredly treated precisely like the σ which takes the place of a radical T sound (ἐψενσμαι πεπεισμαι) and is only dropped before another σ (πεπείσαι ἦκουσαι). In verbs in ν the ν and σ in a certain measure contend for the honour of being retained πεφανσμαι would be an impossibility in the present state of the language but πεφα-σμαι has obtained currency in preference to πεφασμαι (as ἐξηραμμαι and others) while in the third person πεφανται has carried off the victory from πεφασται perhaps under the protection of πεφασαι which must gain the preference over πεφα-σσαι which would have been contrary to all custom and over πεφασαι in which the ν would have been unnecessarily abandoned. The circumstance that verbs of this kind exhibit the σ also in the formation of words before suffixes which begin with μ or τ (τελεσμα τελεστης) is no argument against the opinion that the σ in the perfect passive has more than a euphonic foundation for without deriving such words from the perfect passive still the custom of writing σμ στ which might have good foundation in the perfect passive may have exerted an influence on such forms in which the σ before μ and τ can only appear as an idle or euphonic accompaniment.

570 That aorist formation, to which, in my Sanscrit grammar, I have assigned the fourth place, is of less importance for comparison with the European cognate languages, but deserves notice on this account, that it makes the verb substantive so broad that it cannot be overlooked, for in forms like *ayā-sisham*, "I went," it receives the word in its broadest extent, and exhibits its radical consonants in a double form, and so in the other persons, with the exception of the second and third singular, in which we have *ayā-sis*, *ayā-sīt*, for *ayāsik-s*, *ayāsishit*, on the same ground on which, in the third formation, are used *abōdhīs*, *abōdhīt*, completely passing over the auxiliary verb (see § 560) The full conjugation of *ayāsisham* is as follows

SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
<i>ayā-sisham</i> ,	<i>ayā-sishva</i> ,	<i>ayā-sishma</i>
<i>ayā-sīs</i> ,	<i>ayā-sishtam</i> ,	<i>ayā-sishṭa</i>
<i>ayā-sīt</i> ,	<i>ayā-sishtām</i> ,	<i>ayā-sishus</i>

571 This aorist formation is not used in the middle, or has fallen into disuse, probably because the broad form of the auxiliary verb accorded just as little with the heavier middle terminations, as in Greek the syllable *σα* of *ἐδίδο-σα-ν*, *ἔδο-σα-ν*, with the passive *ἐδίδο-ντο*, *ἔδο-ντο*. The active also, in Sanscrit, avoids this formation in roots which are encumbered with a final consonant, with the exception of three roots in *m* *ram*, "to play," *nam*, "to bend," *yam*, "to restrain." As, however, *m* before *s* must pass into the very weak nasal sound of Anusvâra (*n*), which, in comparison with other consonants, is almost nothing, the forms, therefore, *aran-sisham*, *anan-sisham*, *ayan-sisham*, come, in respect to the weight of the root, very near to forms like *ayāsisham*.

"Remark If it is asked, in what way the language has arrived at the form *sisham*, two modes of deriving it present themselves. Either, as I have before assumed, *si*

is a syllable of reduplication and *sham* (properly *sam* the *s* of which through the influence of a preceding *i* becomes *sh*) the principal syllable or *sisham* was originally *sasam sishva sasva* or *sāsva*, and *sishma sasma* or *sasma* &c and these forms have been developed from the second aorist formation corresponding to the Greek first (see § 533) so that the verb substantive which already existed accompanied by *a* attached itself a second time preceding the personal terminations (probably at a time when the auxiliary verb was no longer recognised as such) just as in Latin third persons plural *is serpserunt* from *serpsesunt*. From *sāva sama* (*adikshāva adikshama* *ἐδείξαμεν*) would consequently next be formed *sasva sasma* from *satam sala* (*adishatam adikshata* *ἐδείξατον* *ἐδείξατε*) *sastam sasta*. But subsequently after the *a* and *a* of the first syllable had in order to lighten the weight become *i* the following *s* must have become *sh* thus dual *sishva sishtam sishtam* from *sāsva sastam sastam* and in the first and second person plural *sishma sishti* from *sāsma sasta*. The root *शाम्* *sās* to rule in some persons affords us an excellent prototype or counterpart of this process of corruption. It weakens viz before the heavy personal terminations beginning with mutes (not however before the weak *v* and *m*) its *ā* to *i* and must also change its final *s* into *sh* and a following *t* *th* into *t* *th* and exhibits therefore in the dual *sishtam sishtham* instead of *sāstam sāstam* in the plural *sishtha* for *sāsta*. In the third person plural the appended auxiliary verb under discussion exhibits the termination *us* for *an* thus *ayāsishus* for *ayasisan* as might be expected according to the analogy of *adikshan* *ἐδείξαν*. The replacing of the termination *us* by *an* is easily explained by considering that *us* passes as a lighter termination than *an* (§ 462) and that on account of the doubling of the auxiliary verb occasion arises for lightening the word in every other manner possible

The root *śās*, too, which is so liable to be weakened, selects, in the third person plural of the imperfect, the termination *us* for *an*; thus *ásās-us*, corresponding to the second person *ásish-ta*. If, then, as I scarce doubt, the aorist form in *sisham*, &c., has arisen in this way, that the auxiliary verb has been re-attached to itself, being first simply combined with the root, then this form in principle corresponds with the Ionic aorist forms like *ἐλάσασκ* (for *ἤλασ* from *ἤλασατ*), *δασάσκειτο* for *ἐδάσατο*. The dropping of the augment in these aorists and similar imperfects is clearly occasioned by the new burthen which has been attached, and we might therefore, in Latin, also ascribe the dislodgement of the augment to the circumstance (or find it promoted thereby), that all imperfects and perfects (aorists) of attributive verbs, according to what has been before remarked, are or were encumbered with an auxiliary verb (*bam*, *si*, *vi*, *ui*), or a syllable of reduplication, either visible or concealed by subsequent contraction (*cucurri*, *ἔπι*). In the isolated and unsupported *ēram* for *ēram* = *अस्मि असाम*, the augment was laid aside by the simple abbreviation of the vowel "

572 In Zend, those aorist forms which unite the verb substantive with the root, are of rare use, but are not entirely wanting. The only instance which I can cite is, however, the form *𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌* *manšta*, "he spoke" (Vend S p 132), a middle of the first formation, corresponding to the Sanscrit *अमंता* *amansta*, "he thought," from the root *man*, which, in Zend, has assumed the meaning "to speak," and has also produced the substantive *𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌* *manthra*, "speech." The frequently occurring *𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌* *dašta*, "he gave," is not, as might be imagined, an aorist, but is based as the imperfect on the Sanscrit *अदत्त* *adatta* (from *adad-ta* for *adadā-ta* = *ἐδίδοτο*), since, according to § 102 (end), the first *t* must be changed into *ś*.

573 We now pass on to those formations of the San-

serit aorist which are known in Greek under the name of the second. Here belong according to the arrangement of my Sanscrit grammar the fifth sixth and seventh formations. The fifth annexes the personal terminations direct to the root and is distinguished from the imperfect only by the removal of class characteristics thus as in Greek *ἔδων* is distinguished from *ἐδίδω* so in Sanscrit, *adām* is distinguished from *adadām* (see p 674) and in Zend where too this kind of aorist formation is in like manner found *danm* from *dadhanm* (regarding *dh* for *d* see § 39). To the Greek *ἔστην ἑστης ἑστη* correspond *asthām asthas asthat* in opposition to the reduplicated *atishtham atishthas atishthat* (see § 508). The relation of the Greek *εἶθην εἰθην* corresponds to that of *adhām to adadhām* (from *dha* to lay to place. The relation of the Greek *ἔφυν ἔφυν ἔφυν* to *ἔφυν* answers to that of the Sanscrit *abhuv am* I was (not *abhu-m* see § 437 Rem) *abhu s abhu t* to *abhai a m abhav-a s abhai a t* since *bhu* as belonging to the first class assumes in the special tenses an *a* but withdraws it in the aorist as the Greek does its *o e*.

574 The Latin *fui* which like all perfects according to what I have before remarked (see §§ 546 &c) I regard as originally an aorist is removed from the corresponding form of the Sanscrit and Greek by the assumption of a conjunctive vowel *i* and thus corresponds to the sixth formation hence *fu i sti** for *abhu s ἔφυν* or rather for the Sanscrit middle form *a bhu thas* for although the fifth formation is not used in the middle and no *adā ta as tha ta adha ta* correspond to the Greek *ἔδο-το ἑστα-το ἔθε-το* still it may be presupposed that they were originally in use. In the third person *fu i t* stands for

* Respecting the *s* of *fu i sti fu i stis* see § 549

abhû-t, ἐφν, in the plural, *fu-i-mus* for *abhû-ma*, ἐφν-μεν, *fu-i-stis* for *abhû-ta*, ἐφν-τε. If this aorist formation were employed in Sanscrit in the middle also, the first person singular would be *abhûv-i*,* and, without euphonic permutation of sound, *abhû-i*. To the former corresponds the obsolete *fuvi*, to the latter, *fu-i*. I do not, however, place any weight on this surprising accordance, for although *fu-i* is based on a middle form (the *m* of *abhûvam* would probably have been retained, see § 431), still it is certain that, in Sanscrit, the termination of the first person singular middle, before the division of languages, had not yet fallen into the abbreviated condition in which we now see it, and, according to the analogy of the pre-supposed third person, *abhû-ta*, *abhû-ma* (from *abhûmam* or *-mām*, see § 552), must have existed in place of *abhûv-i*. I do not, therefore, regard the *i* of *fu-i* as identical with the Sanscrit *i* of the pre-supposed *abhûv-i*, but as identical with the conjunctive vowel *i* of *fu-i-sti*, *fu-i-t*, &c. Consequently, the form *fu-i* is entirely deficient in a personal termination, just as present forms like *veh-o* = *vah-â-mi*.

575 The sixth Sanscrit aorist formation is distinguished from the fifth simply by this, that the personal terminations are united with the root by a conjunctive vowel *a*, and this *a* is treated in conjugation exactly like the class vowel of the first and sixth class (§ 109^a. 1). This aorist, therefore, is distinguished from the imperfect of the first class simply by the withdrawal of the Guna, *e g.* the imperfect of *rish*, “to injure,” class 1, is *arêsh-a-m* (= *araiśham*), and the aorist *arish-a-m*. We have, therefore, here the relation of the Greek ἐλειπ-ο-ν to the aorist ἐλιπ-ό-ν, which is without

* The common rule would require *abhûvi* (with a short *u*), but *bhû* has this property, that before vowels it becomes *bhûv* hence, in the first person singular, *abhûv-am*, and in the third plural *abhûv-an*, in the first and third person singular of the reduplicated preterite *babhûva* stands irregularly for *bubhûv-a*.

Guna From *budh* to know class 1 comes the imperfect *abôdh a-m* (= *abaudh a-m*) and the aorist *abudh-a m* just as in Greek from ΦΥΓ *ἔφυγον* opposed to *ἔφυγον*.

576 In the Sanscrit sixth class which has *a* as its class vowel in common with the first but does not admit of Guna in the special tenses which would have to be withdrawn in the aorist the formation under discussion is possible only in a small number of irregular verbs which in the special tenses (see § 109 1) insert a nasal and again reject it in the aorist as generally in the common tenses. Thus *lip* which has been repeatedly mentioned to smear (compare *αλειφω*) forms in the imperfect *alimpam* and in the aorist *alipam*. Another form of this kind is *alupam*. I did cut off in contradistinction to *alumpam* (compare the Latin *rumpo rupi ruptum*). The same is the relation of Greek aorists like *ἔλαβον* (Sanskrit *labh* to take) *ἔχαδον ἔλαθον* to their imperfects *ελαμβαιον εχανδανον ελανθανον* only that these besides the inserted nasal have also another external addition which is likewise rejected as in Sanscrit the fifth and ninth classes reject their intermediate syllable *nu* *nd*. As to the imperfect *asak-nai am* and the aorist *asak a m* which in Sanscrit come from *sal* to be able class five these two forms stand in a relation to one another similar to that in which the Greek passive aorists *ἐζυγηι ἐμιγηι ἐπαγην* stand to their imperfect actives *ἐζευγνυι ἐμιγνυν ἐπηγνυν* and as for the imperfect *aklis-na m* and the aorist *aklis a m* which come from *kliis* class nine this corresponds exactly to the relation of the Greek *εδαμνην* to *εδαμον*. From *suid* to sweat class four come the imperfect *asuid ya m* and the aorist *asuid a-m* here the relation is similar to the correspondence of an aorist *ἔβαλλον* in Greek to the imperfect *ἔβαλλον* it being pre supposed that the gemination of *βαλλω** is the consequence of an assimilation (see

* If we assume in *βαλλω* the mutation of an original tenuis to its middle

§ 501), and that therefore βάλλω has arisen from βαλγω, as ἄλλος from ἄλγος

577 In roots which end with vowels this aorist formation is, in Sanscrit, little used, and where it occurs the radical vowel is rejected before the vowel of conjunction, with the exception of $\sqrt{\text{ir}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{ir}}$, of which the former becomes *ar*, the latter *ir*, e g *asar-a-m*, *ajir-a-m*, from $\sqrt{\text{si}}$ (originally *sar*), "to go," $\sqrt{\text{ji}}$ (properly *jar*, *jir*), "to grow old," *asv-a-m*, from *svi*, "to grow" Roots in *u* and *û* do not occur in this aorist formation, otherwise from *bhû*, "to be," if it followed this formation, and in like manner rejected its vowel, would come *abham*, *abhas*, *abhat*, which would approach the Latin *bam* of *ama-bam* very closely, or, if the *û* were not rejected, but, according to § 574, was changed into *ûv*, or, according to the general law of sound, into *uv*, then, in respect to the conjunctive vowel, in the third person singular the Latin *fu-i-t*, and, in the first person plural, *fu-i-mus*, would have the same relation to *abhuv-a-t*, *abhuv-â-ma*, or *abhûv-a-t*, *abhûv-â-mo*, that, as above (§ 507), *veh-i-t*, *veh-i-mus* have to *vah-a-ti*, *vah-â-mas*

578 In Zend it is hardly possible to distinguish everywhere with certainty the aorist formation under discussion from the imperfect, at least not in examples of the kind like the frequently-occurring *zanat*, "he struck" This form may be regarded as an aorist, because the root $\sqrt{\text{han}}$ to which the Zend 𐬀𐬵𐬌 *zan* (for which also 𐬀𐬵𐬌 *jan*) corresponds, belongs to the second class, and therefore, in the second and third person singular, the imperfect forms

medial, as, *vice veî sâ*, in 𐬀𐬵𐬌 = *budh*, "to know," a tenuis stands in place of a medial, then βάλλω would be referable to the Sanscrit root *pad*, whence *padyé*, "I go" (middle), assuming a causal meaning As regards the weakening of the *d* to *l*, BAA answers, in this respect, to the Prakrit *pal* The same may be said of πάλλω, where the initial sound presents no difficulty

ahan for *ahans ahant* according to § 94 In Zend also this root prevails chiefly in the second class We find in the Vend S p 159 &c repeatedly *jaunti* he beats also *zaintê* (p 157 perhaps erroneously for *zainti* or it is a middle) but at p 177 we find *𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀 jananti* according to the first class and therefore *𐬕𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀 zanat* also may be allotted to the first class and regarded as the imperfect But although *zanat* should be explained as belonging to the class to which this verb is principally referable it may be still regarded as the imperfect and in fact as following the analogy of the Sanscrit *अरोद अरोदत* he wept and the Zend *𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀 anhat* he was (see § 532)

579 The Sanscrit seventh aorist formation is distinguished from the sixth by a syllable of reduplication preceding the root and therefore answers to the Greek aorists as *ἔπεφνον ἐπεφραδοι ἐκεκλετο* and such as have dropped the augment as *τετυκον πεπιθον* We have already adduced above (§ 546) Latin perfects like *cucurri tutudi cecini* and remarked that such as *cepi fregi feci* and probably also such as *lēgi fodi scābi vidi fugi* (if in the latter the length of the vowel is not to be regarded as compensation for an *s* which has been dropped after the final consonant of the root) contain a concealed reduplication (see §§ 547 548) The Sanscrit *apātam* I fell (*) for *apapatam* from *pat* to fall corresponds exactly to the above mentioned Greek *ἐπέφνοι* in its entire structure and therefore also in the rejection of the radical vowel While the Greek reduplicates this root in the present and imperfect and withdraws the reduplication in the aorist so that the Doric *ἔπετον* (commonly *ἐπεσον*) has the same relation to *ἐπιπτον* that *ἔδων ἔθην ἔστην* have to *ἐδιδων ἐτιθην ἰστην* the Sanscrit with this verb adopts the reverse method and opposes to the imperfect *apatam* an aorist

* See my lesser Sanscrit Grammar § 382 Remark

apaptam The Greek imperfect, therefore, ἐπιπτον, corresponds most surprisingly with this aorist *apaptam*, and the Greek aorist ἔπτεον with the Sanscrit imperfect *apatam*

580 In Sanscrit all verbs of the tenth class follow this seventh aorist formation, and, what is the same, all causal forms, for these are in their formation identical with the tenth class. And here the rhythmical law is valid, that either the syllable of reduplication, or the base-syllable, must be long, whether by natural length of the vowel or by position, as in *apaptam*. Both kinds are often at all admissible in one and the same root, but in most cases the use of language has exclusively decided for one or the other kind, and, in fact, most frequently for the length of the syllable of reduplication, *e g* from *śil*, "to make," comes *asísílām* or *asísílām*, from *chur*, "to steal," comes *achúchurām*

581 Besides the verbs of the tenth class and causal forms, as the above-mentioned *apaptam*, and some others to be given in the following paragraphs, only four other roots ending with a vowel belong here, viz. *śi*, "to go," *śvi*, "to grow," "to go,"* *ḍi*, "to run," *śi*, "to hear," *snu*, "to flow,"† whence *asísínyam*, *asísívyam*, *adudruvam*, *asúsruvam*, *asusnuvam*

582 I have already remarked (§ 548) that *anésám*, "I went to run," from *nas*, in my opinion contains a concealed syllable of reduplication, and has arisen from *ananiśám* (for *ananaś-a-m*) by rejection of the second *n*, and, moreover, that Latin perfects like *cēpi* rest on the same principle. In *avôcham*, also, "I spoke," I

* These two roots may be originally identical, as semi-vowels are easily interchanged (see § 20), and the Latin *eres-co* may be referred to one or the other

† This is connected with *si*, "to flow," by the affinity of the liquids compare the Greek νέω, νέω-σομαι, ῥέω, ῥεύ-σομαι

recognise a reduplication though it appears that the *ð* is only an alteration of the *a* of the root. The root *rach* has however a tendency to suppress its radical vowel and vocalize its *r* hence in the participle present *ukta* and in the plural of the reduplicated preterite *uch i ma* from *u uchima*. If then it is assumed that in the norist formation under discussion the root *rach* has been contracted to *uch* then *radch* may very satisfactorily be deduced from *ra uch* for *ra rach*. The syllable of reduplication therefore has in this form with regard to gravity carried off the superiority over the base syllable in forms like *achuchuram* I stole. Whether the Zend *𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 radchem* I spoke the third person of which *radchat* occurs very frequently is identical with the Sanskrit *aradham* and therefore in like manner reduplicated cannot be decided with certainty for this reason that as Burnouf has shewn the Zend has a tendency to change an *a* through the influence of a preceding *i* into *ð ð* and thus to make it more homogeneous to the nature of the *i* but according to § 28 an *a* is prefixed to the *ð ð*. A present middle also *𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 radché* occurs in Zend* and a potential (optative) *𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 radchbit* (Vend S p 163) which might however also be regarded as norist of the potential from the root *radh*.

583 In *arandham* also I injured I slew I think I discover a reduplication† assuming an exchange of the

* Vend S p 83 *tat raché radché* this speech I speak. Or should *radché* be considered a reduplicated preterite? It is certain that Anquetil is wrong in regarding it as the imperative and translating the passage by *pron nez bien cette parole*.

† This root may be akin to *radh* to beat, to slay (see § 20) to which A. Benary has referred the Latin *laedo* which therefore would be also connected with *radh* and stands nearer to the latter, as *r* and *l* are almost identical.

liquids, thus, *arandham* for *arardham*, from *araradham*, as *apaptam* from *apapatam*. With regard to the exchange of the *r* for *n*, it may be proper to advert to the Tongian *nma*, "five," in opposition to *rma*, *lima*, of the dialects near akin. Observe, also, that in the intensive forms चञ्चल् *chanchal* and चञ्चल् *chanchur*,* the nasal of the syllable of reduplication is the representative of the *l* and *r* of the root, just as of the μ of the Greek $\pi\acute{\iota}\mu\pi\lambda\eta\mu\iota$, $\pi\acute{\iota}\mu\pi\rho\eta\mu\iota$, where, therefore, μ for λ stands in the reverse relation of the Latin *flare* for the Sanscrit धृद् *dhmá*.†

584 In verbs which begin with a vowel in Sanscrit, in this aorist formation, the whole root is twice employed, and the first time, indeed, uniting the radical vowel with that of the augment, according to the principle of § 530, in accordance, therefore, with the Greek aorists with Attic reduplication, as ἡγαγον, ὥρορον. The Sanscrit, however, requires, in the second position of the root, the lightest vowel of all, *i*, as the representative of all the rest. Not only, therefore, are *i* and the diphthong *é* (*a* + *i*) shortened to *i*, and from *íday* (causal from *íd*, "to praise,") *áridam* formed, but *a* and *á* also are weakened to *i*, after the principle of Latin forms like *tetigi*, *contingo*, where the encumbrance of the root by the syllable of reduplication or the preceding preposition is the occasion of the vowel being weakened. Hence, in Sanscrit, from *atay* (causal from *at*, "to go,") comes the aorist *átitam*, and from *ápay* (causal from *áp*, "to reach,") *ápipam*, with which the Latin *adipiscor* for *adapiscor* may be compared, and the

* From *chal*, *char*, see lesser Sanscrit Grammar, §§ 506 507

† Pott (Etym. Forsch. II 690) properly derives the Lett *dunduris*, "hornet," from *dur-t*, "to stick," it has, therefore, in the repeated syllable likewise an exchange of liquids. Thus, also, the Greek *δένδρον* is to be derived from *δέρδρον*, and is akin to *δρῦς* and the Sanscrit *druma*, "tree" (compare Pott, II 235)

Greek reduplicated forms *ατααλλω ονημι οπιπτειω* for *ατααλλω ονονημι οποπτειω* (compare Pott II 690) And *u* also and *u* and the diphthongs in which *u* is contained are changed into *i* hence *dundidam* from *unday* (crus of *und* to make wet compare Latin *unda*) *duninam* from *din* class ten to *ibate* It was first from these formations and the analogous forms of desideratives that I perceived that the weight of the *u* is borne less readily by the language than that of the *i* for otherwise it would not be replaced by *i* in syllables where the whole attention of the language is directed to make them as light as possible But in the whole of Sanscrit Grammar no other case exists where *u* to lighten the syllabic weight becomes *i* for while in roots beginning with a consonant desideratives in the syllable of reduplication weaken a radical *a* to *i* (e g *pupatish* from *pat* to cleave) *u* remains unaltered (*yuyuts* from *yudh* to struggle), which serves as a proof that *u* is lighter than *a* because were it heavier than *a* it would have a better right to be changed into *i*

585 In roots which end with two consonants of which the first is a liquid this is rejected in order the more to relieve the weight in the base syllable but it is retained in the syllable of repetition hence above (§ 584) *dundidam* for *dun dundam* so also *drjyam* for *drjarjam* from *arj* class ten to earn According to this principle in Latin also *pungo* if encumbered by reduplication loses its nasal thus *pupugi* not *pupungi* The loss of the nasal in *tetigi tutudi* surprises us less because in these verbs it in general belongs less strictly to the root and is dropped also in the supine and analogous formations But if in Sanscrit the first of two final consonants is a mute and the second a sibilant then the syllable of repetition receives only the first of the two consonants and the base syllable retains them both as from *ikshay* (crusai from *iksh* to see) comes *dichiksham* for

ākiksham or *ākshuksham** This principle is followed by the Greek *ἀλαλκον*, for which, according to the principle of the abovementioned *āundidam*, *ἄλκακον*, or, with the augment, *ἡλκακον* would be used

586 In the few verbal bases which, exclusive of the causative affix *ay*, contain more than one syllable, the Sanscrit receives, in the syllable of repetition, only as much as can be contained in one syllable, as from *avadhr*, class ten, "to despise,"† comes *āv-avadhīam* The Greek follows the same principle in forms like *ἀλ-ήλιφα*, *ἀγ-ήγερκα*, *ὀρ-ώρυχα*.

587. The Zend supplies us with an excellent aorist form of the seventh formation, which has been already several times mentioned, and which was first brought to light by Burnouf, viz *𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬢𐬀* *urūrudusha*, "thou growest" (see § 469), from the root *rudh*, "to grow," which, in the Sanscrit *रुह* *ruh*, has preserved of the *dh* only the aspiration With respect to the length of the syllable of reduplication this form answers to those in Sanscrit like *achāchuram* (see § 580) The initial *u* of *𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬢𐬀* *urūrudusha* is regarded above (§ 518) as the representative of the *a* of the augment, through the assimilating influence of the *ū* of the following syllable But it now appears to me more correct to recognise, in the initial vowel of the form spoken of, only the original accompaniment of the augment, which has been dropped, and that, therefore, from *arūrudhusha*, by the retro-active influence of the *ū* of the second syllable, next arose *aurūrudhusha*, as, in § 46, I have endeavoured to derive *𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬢𐬀* *haurva* from the Sanscrit *sarva*, through the euphonic influence of the *v*, and as the base word *ātharvan*, "priest," in the weak cases, in which the final syllable *van* is contracted to *un*, adds,

* Gutturals in the syllables of repetition are always replaced by palatals

† I explain *ava* as the preposition which has grown up with the base, and regard the termination as akin to *dhyāi*, "to think," *dhīra*, "sage"

through the influence of the *u* of this syllable *nu* to the preceding *a* thus *olthaurun** from which by dislodging the *o* is formed the more common *athurun*† as for the Sanscrit *taruno* young we find in Zend both *tauruna* and *turuna*. The *u* of the penultimate of *urûrudh u sha* corresponds to the conjunctive vowel *a* of Sanscrit forms like *achûchur-a* & *achûchur-a th is* and may have proceeded from *a* by an assimilating influence of the *u* of the preceding syllable. If the older *a* had been retained we should then find according to § 56) *urûrudhauha*

THE PERFECT

588 It has been already remarked that that Sanscrit preterite which agrees in form with the Greek perfect is according to its signification not a perfect but is most frequently used in the sense of the Greek aorist (§ 513)

—

I find the initial *î* of the strong cases abbreviated in the examples I have before me of the weak cases. The strong cases change the proper theme *ultha* *tan* to *tharan* hence the nominative *thara* (Zend § 160). Without transposition an *e* or some other auxiliary vowel must have been inserted between the *r* and *r* because *r* can neither stand at the end nor in combination with a consonant.

* Thus Zend § p 6 the genitive *olthurun* and p 231 twice the dative *athurun* on the other hand p 6. Z. 17 the accusative plural *athauru nan -ta*. The view I now take of the phenomenon under discussion differs from that in § 46 in this, that I there represented the *i* of the second syllable of *athurun* as proceeding directly from the *a* of the original form in consequence of an assimilation while I now regard it as a remnant of *iu* and look upon the *a* no longer as a prefixed vowel but as the original one by the side of which *nu* has been placed through the influence of the *u* of the following syllable as frequently happens with an *i* through the influence of a following *i* or *y* (see § 41). I fully agree in this point with the opinion expressed by Burnouf in his review of the First Part of this book (Journal des Savans 1833 in the separate impression p 8) where also the Zend aorist "horse" is in this way compared with the Sanscrit *arvan*.

Our German unparaphrased preterite, which, in its origin, coincides with the Greek perfect and Sanscrit reduplicated preterite, has likewise renounced the perfect meaning, but in Gothic represents both the Greek imperfect and the aorist, as well as the perfect, and, in the earliest Old High German authorities, besides these tenses, the pluperfect. In the ninth, and, as Grimm remarks, perhaps so early as the eighth century, begin the circumlocutory forms of the perfect by the passive participle with the auxiliary verb *haben*, and, in neuter verbs, with the verb substantive, in which respect we must advert to the practice of the Sanscrit language, in expressions like *gatô śmi* (for *gatas asmi*), "*ich bin gegangen*," "I went" (see § 513), as also to the circumstance, that, in the forms in *तवत* *tavat* (*tavant*), the idea of possession is contained, and that *uktavān asmi*, "*diu*," properly means, "I am gifted with having said" (therefore "having said") (see § 513). The Old High German uses, beside the verb corresponding to our *haben*, also *egan*, which has the same import, for its paraphrase of the perfect, in the indicative, only in the plural, but, in the conjunctive, in the singular also (see Grimm, IV 149).

589 As regards the formation of the German unparaphrased preterite, the Gothic has, in the strong conjugation, under certain circumstances, regularly preserved the reduplication, which, from the earliest period, belongs to this tense, viz first, in all verbs (their number is, it must be allowed, but small) which have a long vowel in the root (not, perhaps, merely in consequence of a Guna in the present, and the forms thereto belonging), secondly, in those verbs which exhibit unchanged, in the present, an *a* long by position, as, from the roots *slép*, "to sleep," *vó*, "to blow" (Sanskrit *vā*), *hait*, "to be called," *auk*, "to increase," *fald*, "to fold" (present *falda*), the first and third person singular are *saizlép*, *vaiuvó*, *haihait*, *arauk*,

faifalith (for *faifald* see § 93) The form *sar-lep* (regarding *z* for *s* see § 86 5) stands so far isolated as all other verbs which exhibit an *é* in the present, replace this in the preterite by *ô*. They are the following *têka*

I touch *taitok* I touched *grela* I weep (Sanskrit *krand* to weep) *gaigrot* I wept *lela* I leave *lailot* I left *flêka* I lament (Latin *plango*) *faiflok*

I lamented *rêda* I advise *rairoth* I advised
This change of the vowel cannot surprise us as *é* and *o* are the common representatives of the original long *â* (see § 69) as in Greek *ε* and *ο* are the usual representatives of the short *α* *taudk* therefore has the same relation to *têka* that in Greek *τετροφα* has to *τρεφω* *λειπω* to *λειπω* *πειθοιθα* to *πειθω* or more strictly as *ἐρρωγα* to *ρηγνυμι* for in Greek both *η* and *ω* are representatives of the long *α*. I believe that the reason of this exchange of vowels in both languages is to be found in this that the quality of *O* is heavier than that of *E* and that the tense under discussion on account of its being encumbered with reduplication feels a necessity to appear heavier in its root than the unencumbered present as also in Gothic, the reduplication has in general maintained itself only in roots of strong construction *

590 *Vahsya* I grow (Zend *𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀* *ues* to grow) from the root *uhs* with the character of the Sanscrit fourth class (see § 109 2.) and *standa* I stand are the only verbs which notwithstanding that they exhibit in the present an *a* long by position have nevertheless permitted the reduplication to disappear. They form in the first and third person singular preterite *uhs stôth*. The dropping of the class syllable *ya* of *vahsya* is regular as this syllable belongs only to the special tenses (see § 109)

* I hereby retract the conjecture I formerly made that the *a* which follows the root of the Greek perfects exercises an influence in changing the *ε* of the root (Vocalismus p 40)

In this respect, therefore, *vôhs* has the same relation to *vahsya*, that, in Sanscrit, *nanâśa* has to *naśyâmi*, "I go to run", and the *ô* of *vôhs* and *stôth* corresponds as the regular long vowel of the *a* (see § 69) to the Sanscrit *â* of forms like *nanâśa*. While the Old High German contrasts with its present *slantu* a preterite *stuont* (see § 109^b 1 p 112) *stôth*, which has abandoned the unorganic nasal of *standa*, presents, moreover the irregularity that the *th*, which, according to § 93¹, has assumed the place of the *d*, is preserved also in the terminations which are annexed, thus, first person plural, *sthôthûm* for *stôdum*, as the analogy of *bauth*, *budum*, from the root *bud*, would lead us to expect.

591 The difficulty that, in Gothic, there are two verbs with a radical *a* in the present, which, in spite of their length by position, have nevertheless lost the reduplication of the preterite, is again, in a certain degree, obviated by the existence of two preterites, which have preserved the reduplication without their vowels being long naturally or by position, viz *hahah*, "I hanged," *fahfah*, "I seized" (present *haha*, *faha*). But if it is considered that these verbs, in the other German dialects, have really length by position, and probably originally had it in Gothic also, the violation of the proposition expressed above, that the reduplication is borne in Gothic only by roots with long syllables, appears, through this consideration, less important*.

* In Old High German the preterite is *hang*, *fiang* (*hanc*, *fanc*), which would lead us to expect a present *hangu*, *fangu*, for which, however, occur *hâhu*, *fâhu*, infinitive *hâhan*, *fâhan*. Graff gives only to the former a long *a*, to the latter a short one, but the quoted examples confirm also the length of the former, not by circumflex or doubling of the *a*. It is highly probable, however, that the same quantity belongs to both verbs, thus they are either *hahan* and *fahan*, or *hâhan* and *fâhan*. As they have no preterite, if the length of the *a* is not proved, it cannot be decided from the point

592 J GRIMM first acutely remarked that the other German dialects in those classes of verbs which in Gothic clearly exhibit the reduplication continue it in like manner although scarcely perceptibly. The syllables of reduplication lose the appearance of a syllable of reduplication when the following syllable is either quite passed over or only loses its consonant and unites its vowel with that of the syllable of reduplication. The former is the case in some Sanscrit desiderative forms as *lps pits* (Lat Sanscrit Greek § 490) for which according to rule we should have *lilaps pipats* * wherefore it appears to me far more proper to assume the suppression of the second syllable than that of reduplication together with the change of *a* into *i* for which no reason at all could exist because the form would have been already sufficiently weakened by the suppression of the syllable of reduplication. A simple consonant is suppressed in the Greek *γινομαι* from *γι γινομαι* which is however itself an abbreviation of *γγενομαι* moreover in the Sanscrit *anāsam* (= *anaīsam*) from *ananāsam* and in the Latin perfects analogous with it as *cēpi* (see § 515) finally in the Old High German preterites as *hualt* (our *hielt*) from *hinhalt* for which in Gothic *hinhald*.

593 It must perhaps be regarded as a dialectic peculiarity in Gothic that the syllable of reduplication has always *ai*. It was the custom perhaps at the time when all Ger-

point of view of the Old High German whether they are to be allotted to Grimm's fourth class (with long *a* in the present) or to the seventh (with short *a* in the present). The Middle High German *hē vāhe lāel est lāhest* preterite *lue lue* (for *luh lueh*) speaks in favour of the fourth class to which they are ascribed by Grimm also who writes *hahu f hu*. In Gothic then instead of the existing *haha f al a* we should expect *h ha f ha* as *slapa leta* answering to the Old High German *sl fu lēu*.

* I consider also *dhīksl* to kindle which is held to be a primitive root as a desiderative of this *kind* and I derive it from *di(dha)sh* from *dah* to burn.

man languages were still one, that the heaviest vowel, *a*, was weakened in the syllable of repetition to the lightest, *i*, as is the case in Sanscrit in the syllable of repetition of desideratives, where from *dah*, "to burn," comes *didhaksh*, not *dadhaksh*, and as in Latin reduplicated forms like *cecini*, the *a* in the syllable of repetition becomes *e*, and in the base *i*, while a radical *o* and *u* in both places remain unchanged (*momordi*, *tutudi*) For the diphthong *ai* of *HAIT*, "to be called," *i* would be, in the syllable of repetition, quite as much in its place, as, in Sanscrit, of the diphthong *ॠ* ($=a + i$), and generally of diphthongs only the last element enters the syllable of repetition, wherefore the reduplicated preterite of *kēt* ($=kai$), "to invite," is *chukêta* (first and third person singular) If an infingement of the law for the mutation of sounds, by preserving the old tenuis in the initial sound (as in *slēpa* = *सुषुप्ति* *suṣupiti*, "I sleep"), be assumed, it might be said that the Gothic *HAIT* would correspond to this Sanscrit *kēt*, and therefore *haihart* (for *hihart*) with the abovementioned *चुकैत* *chukêta* But if *au* also is, in Gothic syllables of reduplication, represented by *ai*, as *ai-auk*, "I increased," while, in Sanscrit, *ॡ* ($=a + u$) becomes *u*, as, *puprôtha* from *prôth*, "to satisfy," then the *i* of this *ai* may be regarded as a weakening of *u*, as we have seen above, in Sanscrit, from *अॡ* *und* proceeds the reduplicated aorist *āundidam* for *āundudam* (§ 584) We might also regard the *i* of *ai-auk* as a weakening of the *a* of the base syllable, which, however, appears to me less probable, as in diphthongs the second element always has the etymological preponderance, and the first is a mere phonetic prefix, on which account I prefer recognising in the syllable of repetition of the Latin *cecidi*, of *cædo* ($=cardo$), the second element of the diphthong *æ*, rather than the first, although *a* in the Latin syllables of repetition is regularly replaced by *e* Be this as it may, I consider this, however, as certain,

that the *ai* in Gothic syllables of reduplication was formerly a simple *i* and that this *ai* is a dialectic peculiarity limited to the Gothic like that which according to § 82 the Gothic employs instead of a simple *i* before *h* and *r* which latter in the other dialects also is alone represented. We miss therefore in the Old High German *hualt* for Gothic *hathald* (from *hahald*) only the *h* of the second syllable and in the old Northern *íðk* I or he increased nothing is wanting of the Gothic *ai auk* as far as the latter is an unorganic extension of *i auk* but *au* has according to the Sanskrit principle been contracted to *ø* while in the participle passive *aukinn* it has remained open and in the present by a doubled umlaut* become *ey*.

591 The old Northern reduplicated preterites of verbs with a radical *a* (Grimm's first conjugation) appear to me to stand upon a different footing from the Gothic like *hai hald* in so far as the latter have weakened the *a* in the syllable of repetition to *i* and have prefixed to the latter an *a* while the former (the old Northern) quite in accordance with the Sanskrit principle have left the *a* of the syllable of reduplication unaltered and without addition but on the other hand (like the Latin perfects *teligi cecini*) have weakened the *a* of the base to *i* and in agreement with the Sanskrit law of sound have contracted the latter with the *a* of the syllable of repetition to *é*. In this way only in my opinion can we explain it that as in old Northern from the root *HALD* to hold (whence the present is by the umlaut *held* and the participle passive *haldinn*) comes the preterite *helt* (the tenuis for the medial at the end of the word as in Middle High German see § 93) plural *hêldum* therefore *hêlt* from *hahult* for *hahalt* as the reverse case of the Old High German *lu-alt* from *luhalt* for *hahalt*. So also in roots with a long *d* for which the Gothic

* By the umlaut the *a* becomes *ä=e* and the *u* *ü=i=y* —Translator's Note

uses *ê* (§ 69), *e g* from *GRĀT*, “to weep,” and *BLĀS*, “to blow,” come *grēt*, *blēs*, as the contraction of *gra(gr)ut*, *bla(bl)is*,* in contradistinction to the Old High German *blas* (*blies*) from *bliblas*. The Old Saxon stands on the same ground as the Old Northern, hence, from *fallu*, “I fall,” *fēll*, “I fell,” from *fafill*, and from *slāpu*, “I sleep,” *slēp*, “I slept,” from *slāslp*, just as, in Sanscrit, plurals like *nēmuma*, from *nanūmima*, correspond to singulars like *nanāma*, “I bent myself,” of which more hereafter.

595 Verbs which, in Gothic, have the diphthong *ai* as the radical vowel, lay aside, in Old High German, in the base syllable, the last element of the said diphthong, and retain only the first, either unaltered, or corrupted to *e*, which, indeed, happens in most of the received authorities, hence, to the Gothic preterite *hahart*, “I was called,” in Otfrið *haz* (for *hahaz* from *haharz*), corresponds, in the other authorities quoted by Graff, *hez*; which latter, in respect to its *e*, answers better to the present *heizu* (=Gothic *haita*), where, however, the *ie* is not yet to be regarded as one sound (= *î*), as in our New German *hies*. Of the Gothic diphthong *au*, we find, according as authorities vary, either the first or the second element preserved, and the former, indeed, either unaltered or changed to *e*, and also the latter either unchanged or corrupted to *o* (see § 77), *e g* from *hlaupa* comes, in Gothic, the preterite *hahlaup* (see § 598), for which, in Old High German, we find in Graff the forms *haf* (from *hlaf* for *hlhlauf*), *hef*, *huf*, *hof*.

596 In Sanscrit the syllable of reduplication always has the radical vowel, only shortened, if long, and, as has been already remarked, of diphthongs only the last ele-

* Present, with *umlaut*, *græt*, *blæs*, participle passive *grātinn*, *blāsinn*. With respect to the rejection of a double consonant in the reduplicated preterite, compare the relation of the Old High German *vior*, “four,” for Gothic *fidvór*.

ment (see § 593), hence *babandh* * from *bandh* to bind
babhās from *bhās* to strive *bibhid* from *bhid* to
 cleave *didip* from *dip* to shine *tutud* from *tud* to
 beat push *pupur* from *pūr* to fill If for the vowel
r the syllable of reduplication contains an *a* this proceeds
 from the primitive form *ar* e.g. *mamarda* ^Λ I and he
 crushed † comes not from *mrid* but from *mard* which in
 the dual and plural is contracted to *mrid*, hence first
 person plural *mamridima* Roots which begin with vowels
 we have already discussed (see § 534) only this may be
 here further mentioned that roots which begin with *a*
 and end with two consonants proceed in a very peculiar
 and remarkable way since they first contract the vowel of
 repetition with that of the root to a long *a* then add an
 euphonic *u* and then annex the whole root a second time
 so that thus the radical vowel occurs three times as
ā n any from *aa n any* from *any* to anoint (Latin *ungo*)

597 The Greek pays no regard in its syllables of reduplication in roots beginning with a vowel to the vowel of the base but always replaces it by *e* which the Latin does in its perfects which are reduplicated and carried back to the Sanskrit seventh aorist formation only in the case in which the root exhibits the heaviest of all vowels viz *a* which appears too heavy for the syllable of reduplication as it is found inadmissible in Sanskrit in the syllables of reduplication of desideratives and is replaced by the lightest vowel *i*. Thus in Greek the perfect *τεταφα* corresponds to the Sanskrit *talapa* or *talāpa* I burned just as *τετυφα* to the Sanskrit *tutupa* (pl) *tutupima* = *τετυφαμεν* I beat

* I give the theme without any personal termination whatever

† Compare the Latin *memordi* although this is based on the aorist of the seventh formation where *amamardam* middle *amamard* might have been expected

wounded, slew," *πεφίληκα*^{*} to the Sanscrit *pṛaya* or *pr-
pāya*, from *prī*, "to rejoice, to love" (compare the Gothic
'*frīyô*, "I love"). It is certain, that originally the Greek,
also, must, in the syllable of reduplication, have had regard
to the radical vowel; that however, in the course of time,
all vowels in this place were weakened to *e*, as is the case
in New German in the final syllables of polysyllabic
words, as we contrast *binde*, *salbe*, *gaben*, with the Gothic
binda, *salbô*, *gabum*, and *Gaste*, *Gasten*, with the Gothic
gasteis, *gastim*. A similar weakness or vitiation to that
which has overtaken our final syllables might easily have
befallen a Greek initial syllable not belonging to the
base itself

598 As regards the laws to which the consonants in
the syllables of reduplication are subjected, the Sanscrit
replaces the gutturals by corresponding palatals, and, in
agreement with the Greek, the aspirated consonants by
corresponding non-aspirates, e.g. *chakâs*, from *kâs*, "to
give light", † *jagam*, from *gam*, "to go", *dadhâ*, from *dhâ*,
"to set, lay", as, in Greek, *τεθη*, from the corresponding
root ΘΗ. Of two consonants combined in the initial sound
in Sanscrit, the first is usually repeated, hence *chakrand*,
from *krand*, "to weep", *chukshup*, from *kshup*, "to cast".
The Gothic follows the same principle, if the second of the
combined consonants is a liquid, hence *gaigrôl*, "I wept,"
corresponds to the Sanscrit word of the same import, *cha-
krianda*, and *sarizlēp* (see § 86 5), "I slept," to the Sanscrit
sushrāpa ‡. We might hence infer that the preterite

* Regarding the origin of the *k* and the aspirate of *τέτυφα*, see § 568 &c

† I refer the Gothic *haiza*, "torch" (*z* a softened *s*, see § 86 5) to this
root

‡ The root *svap* is irregular in this, that it is contracted before the
heavy terminations into *sup* (*shup*), and on this form is founded the syl-
lable of reduplication, through the *u* of which the *s* following becomes *sh*

which nowhere occurs of *hlauþa* is *hathlaup* not *hlathlaup*. But if in Gothic the second of the combined consonants is a mute this finds its way into the syllable of reduplication also hence *slaislaith*. I separated the third person plural of which *slaislaidun* occurs in Luke ix 33 hence might be deduced also *slaitaut* from *STAUT*. The other German dialects have unrestrictedly left two combined consonants together in the syllable of repetition hence in Old High German *slaf* I slept *spialt* I cleft from *slislaf* *spispialt*, unless in the second syllable one of the two consonants be rejected as in the Latin *spopondi steti* for *spospondi stesti*. But the Gothic *slaislaith* speaks against the latter.

599 It remains to be remarked with respect to the Sanscrit syllables of reduplication that if a root begins with a sibilant before a mute the syllable of repetition according to the general law does not contain the first consonant but the second respect being had to the rules of sound before mentioned, e.g. from *sthā* comes *tasthāu*.

I ho stood, from *spris* (*spars*), *pasparsa*. I or ho touched in opposition to the Latin *steti* *spopondi*. The Zend closely as it is allied to the Sanscrit does not recognise this rule. I cannot indeed quote the perfect of *𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀* *stu* nor any other perfect of roots with an initial sibilant before a mute but as *sthā* in Sanscrit has a syllable of reduplication in the special tenses also and forms in the present *tisthāmi* we see from the Zend *𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀* *histami* that the law of reduplication under discussion at the time of the identity of the Zend with the Sanscrit was not yet in force or at least not in its full extent. Of the Latin it deserves further remark that in its *sisto* which is properly the counterpart of the Sanscrit *tisthāmi* Gr *𐀲𐀺𐀢𐀺𐀢𐀺* and Zend *histami* (see § 508) it follows the general law for syllables of reduplication while analogically with *stete* a present *stiso* might have been expected.

600 With respect to the Greek, as soon as we recognise in the *i* of ἴστημι, as in the Zend *hi* of *histāmi*, a syllable of reduplication, to which we are compelled, by its analogy with δίδωμι, τίθημι, βίβημι, &c., and by the circumstance that *σ* in the initial sound is easily weakened to the rough breathing, it must be allowed, that in the perfect ἔστηκα the rough breathing stands for *σ*, and that, therefore, we have in this form a more perfect syllable of reduplication than is usually the case in roots which have in the initial sound a heavier consonant combination than that of a mute before a liquid. We cannot place ἔστηκα on the same footing with εἵμαρται, which we would suffer to rest on itself, for the latter has just as much right to the rough breathing as the Latin *sisto* to its *s* and when Buttmann says (Gr Res § 83 Rem 6), "The often-occurring ἀφέσταλκα (pre-supposing ἔσταλκα) in the Milesian inscription given by Chishull, p 67, furnishes a proof that the rough breathing instead of the reduplication of the perfect went further in the old dialects than the two cases to be met with in the current language (ἔστηκα, εἵμαρται)," it is important to observe, that here, also, the root begins with *σ*, which has been preserved in the syllable of repetition as the rough breathing. In ἔστηκα this phenomenon has been preserved in the language as commonly used, because, in my opinion, the analogy of the present and imperfect has protected the breathing which belongs to the perfect reduplication.

601. For the rest, if, in other consonant combinations than that of a mute before a liquid, the syllable of repetition has usually dropped the consonant to be repeated, this clearly happened because a greater weight of sound in the base syllable rendered a lightening of the syllable of repetition desirable, hence, ἔψαλκα, ἔφθορα, from πέψαλκα, πέφθορα. In these and similar forms the coincidence of the initial syllable with the augment is only casual, and if in the *ε* a remnant of a syllable of reduplication is recognised, we are

thereby compelled to explain the *e* of ἔψαλλον ἔφθιστοι also as the syllable of reduplication as in the imperfect and aorist (and this appears from the Sanscrit) a simple vowel independent of the root has just as much a primitive foundation as in the perfect in roots beginning with a consonant, a syllable beginning with the radical consonant or its representative has. It cannot however be denied that in some cases through an error in the use of language the example of the augmented preterites has operated on the perfect. It may be that the *e* of ἔαγα εουρηκα is just as much the augment as that of ἔαξα* εουρουν but it also admits of being regarded in the perfect as the reduplication since *e* and *o* are originally identical with *α* and have proceeded from it by corruption (see § 3) and since both *a* and *o* easily become *e* as the final *e* of ἔδαιξα (= *adikshat*) is according to its origin identical with the *α* of ἔδειξα ἔδειξα *s* &c and the *e* of the vocative as λυκε (= *ḡvrika*) is only a weakening of the *o* concluding the base word and corrupted from the older *α* (see § 204)

602 To pass over then to the alterations to which the radical vowel in the Sanscrit reduplicated preterite is subjected we will consider first the roots with *α*. This is lengthened before a simple consonant in the third person singular active and in the first person singular active also in the first hence from *char* to go to which the Gothic root *ΓAR* to wander corresponds *chachāra* or *chachara* I went *chachāra* he went. This analogy is followed by those Gothic verbs which have preserved a radical *a* before simple consonants in the present but replace it in the preterite with *ō* as *fara* the preterite of which *fōr* in respect to its vowel corresponds as exactly as possible to the Sanscrit *chār* of *chachāra*

* The digamma, which belongs to this verb which rests on the Sanscrit *bh* of *bhany* to break leads us to expect an aorist *F^h* and in the most ancient time a perfect *F^eF^h* γ for the Sanscrit *bablanja*

for *ô* is, in Gothic, the regular representative of the long *â*, and takes the place of the short *a*, where the latter is to be lengthened, as, *vice versa*, *ô*, in case of abbreviation, becomes *a*, on which account feminine bases in *ô* (= Sanscrit *â*) exhibit in the uninflected nominative an *a*, since long vowels at the end of a word are the easiest subjected to abbreviation (see § 137) The relation, therefore, of *fôr* to *fara* is based originally not on an alteration of quality, but only on that of quantity, and the vowel difference has here just as little influence in the designation of the relation of time, as, in the noun, on that of the case relation. As, however, in *fôr* the true expression of past time, viz. the reduplication, has disappeared, and *fôr* stands for *fai-fôr*, the function performed by the difference of the vowel of the root, in common with that of the personal terminations (or of the absence of terminations, as in *fôr* as first and third person singular), is, for the practical use of language, the designation of time. Thus, in our German conjunctive preterite in the plural, the *umlaut* is the only sign by which we recognise the relation of mood, and which, therefore, is to be held as the exponent of the modal relation, since the true expression of the same, viz. the vowel *e* (*e g* of *waren*, *waret*), which was formerly an *i* (Old High German *wârîmês*, *wârît*), and, as such, has produced the *umlaut* by its assimilative power, is no longer, in its corrupted form, distinguishable from the termination of the indicative

603 The Gothic *fôr* is distinguished from the Sanscrit *châr* of *chachâra* by this, that it retains its long vowel through all persons and numbers, while in Sanscrit it is necessary only in the third person singular, and is found or not, at will, in the first person singular. To the Gothic, however, answers the Greek second perfect in the case where a radical *ǎ* is lengthened to *ā*, or its representative, *η*. The relation of *κράζω* (*ἐκράζον*) to *κέκρᾱγα*, of *θάλλω* (*θᾱλῶ*) to *τέθηλα*, corresponds exactly to the relation of the Sanscrit *charāmi* and Gothic *fara* to *chachâra*, *fôî*. In Greek verbs which have changed

a radical *a* in the present to *e* the change of this *e* into the heavier *o* compensates for its being lengthened (see § 589)

604 In verbs which end with two consonants the lengthening of the *a* to *ā* is in Sanscrit quite omitted and *o* in Gothic that of *a* to *ū* is in Sanscrit *mamantha* I or he shook *mamanthuma* we shook from *manth* so in Gothic *vanald* I or he ruled *vanaldum* we ruled from *vald* Those Gothic verbs which weaken in the present a radical *a* before a double consonant to *i* (see § 116) replace the same in the plural numbers of the preterite and in the whole conjunctive preterite by *u* hence *BAND* to bind (from which the present *binda*) forms in the singular of the preterite *band*, *bans t* (see § 102) *band* answering to the Sanscrit *babandha* *babandh i tha* *babandha* in the second person dual however *bund u ts* for Sanscrit *baband a thus* and in the plural *bund u m* *bund u t* *bund u n* for Sanscrit *babandh i ma* *babandh a (tha)* *babandh us* The conjunctive is *bundyau* &c The Old High German which has an *i* for its termination in the second person singular instead of the Gothic *t* which in my opinion corresponds to the Sanscrit conjunctive vowel *i* exhibits before this *i* also the alteration of the *a* to *u* hence in the first and third person singular *bant* corresponding to the Sanscrit *babandha* and Gothic *band* but in the second person *bunt i* answering to the Sanscrit *babandh i tha* and Gothic *bans t* Hence we perceive that the change of the *a* into *u* depends on the extent of the word since only the monosyllabic forms have preserved the original *a* We perceive further that the weight of the *u* appears to the German idioms lighter than that of the *a* otherwise the *u* would not unbind the *a* in the same way as we saw above *ai* and *au* replaced by *i* in the polysyllabic forms or before heavy terminations (see § 489) and is in Latin the *a* of *calco* and *salsus* under the encumbrance of a preceding preposition is represented by *u* (*conculco* *insulsus*)

605. Where, in Gothic, a radical *a* is weakened before simple consonants, in the present, to *ɛ*, but retained in the singular of the preterite, we find instead of it, in both the plural numbers and in the whole conjunctive preterite, in all the polysyllabic past forms, an *é*, and for that in the Old and Middle High German an *â*, which here, however, occurs as soon as in the second person singular indicative, because it is polysyllabic in Middle High German, however, it is changed to *a*. The present of the root *LAS*, "to read," is, in Gothic, *lisa*, in Old High German *lisu*, in Middle High German *lise*, the preterite in Gothic is *las*, *las-t*, *las*, *lésun*, *lésut*, *lésun*, conjunctive *lésyau*, &c in Old High German *las*, *lâsi*, *las*, *lâsumês*, *lâsut*, *lâsun*, conjunctive *lâsi*, &c in Middle High German *las*, *læse*, *las*, *lâsen*, *lâset*, *lâsen*, conjunctive *læse*. This phenomenon stands in contradiction to all other strong verbs, because here the polysyllabic forms have a heavier vowel than the monosyllabic, but the reverse naturally appears everywhere else. Even in the Sanscrit we find thus apparent contradiction to the law of gravity, and the surprising, although, perhaps, accidental, coincidence with the Gothic, that in both languages, in similar places, viz before the heavy terminations of the dual and plural a radical *a* is changed into *é*, in both languages only in roots which terminate in a simple consonant, to which is further added, in Sanscrit, the limitation, that the initial consonant, also, must generally be simple, and cannot be *v* or the like, which, in the syllable of repetition, according to § 598, experiences a change. The syllable of repetition, however, is suppressed in the cases in which the *a* is changed into *é*. This is the practical view of the rule, which we shall subsequently endeavour to elucidate theoretically. Let the root *tan*, "to stretch out," serve as example.

ACTIVE		
SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
<i>tatāna</i> or <i>tātana</i>	<i>tēnna</i> for <i>tatanūa</i>	<i>tēnma</i> for <i>tatanima</i>
<i>tatantha</i>	} <i>tēnathus</i> for <i>tatanathus</i>	<i>tēna</i> for <i>tātana</i>
or <i>tēntha</i> for <i>tatanitha</i>		
<i>tātana</i>	<i>tēnatus</i> for <i>tatanatus</i>	<i>tēnus</i> for <i>tatanus</i>
MIDDLE		
<i>tēnē</i> for <i>tatanē</i>	<i>tēnūahē</i> for <i>tatanūahē</i>	<i>tēnimahē</i> for <i>tatanimahē</i>
<i>tēnishē</i> for <i>tatanishē</i>	<i>tēnāthē</i> for <i>tatanāthē</i>	<i>tēnidhīē</i> for <i>tatanudhīē</i>
<i>tēnē</i> for <i>tatanē</i>	<i>tēnātē</i> for <i>tatanātē</i>	<i>tēnirē</i> for <i>tatanirē</i>

It appears therefore from this paradigm that the form *tēn* used for *tātana* though far the most common is adopted only before heavy terminations or in such persons as in their full form would appear to consist of four syllables for although in the second person plural *tēna* stands for *tātana* and in the third person plural *tēnus* for *tatanus* still *us* in this place is an abbreviation of *anti* (compare § 162) and *a* is clearly only the remnant of an original termination *atha* the *a* of *tēna* for *tēn a tha* corresponds merely to the conjunctive vowel of the Greek *τενϑ a τε* and of the Gothic *vanald u th, fōr u th les u th** The reason of the abbrevi

* I have already in my *System of Conjugation* and in the *Annals of Oriental Literature* (London 1850) called attention to the fact that the Sanscrit *tātupa* in the second person plural is an abbreviated form and in the former parts of this book the fact has often been alluded to that the Sanscrit in particular cases appears in disadvantageous contrast with its European sister idioms. It has therefore surprised me that Professor Hofer in his *Treatise Contributions* &c p 40 has made so general an assertion that recent investigators have not been desirous of keeping perfectly free from the unfortunate error of believing in the imaginary inviolability and pristine fidelity and perfection of the Sanscrit. For my part I have never conceded to the Sanscrit such pristine fidelity and it has always given me pleasure to notice the cases in which the European sister languages surpass it as the Lithuanian does in this day in every where

tion is clearly apparent in the second person singular, for if here the termination *tha* is joined directly to the root, the full reduplication remains, but if the number of syllables is increased by a conjunctive vowel, then *tén* is used for *tatan*, thus *ténitha* (from *tatanitha*) answering to *tatantha*. I recognise, as has been already observed (see § 548), in forms like *tén* a concealed reduplication, thus *tén* from *tatin* (as in Latin *cecini* for *cocani*), and this from *tatan*, whence, by rejecting the second *t*, *tân* (for *ta-an*) may have been formed, and so, in earlier times, have been used for *tén*, and I think that the Gothic *é*, in forms like *lêsum*, is not found there because the Sanscrit, in analogous forms, has an *é*, but for this reason that the Sanscrit *é* was formerly an *â*, but the Gothic *é* represents the *â* (§ 60). The Old High German has preserved the original sound, and exhibits *lâsumês* (from *lâlasumês*), which, in contrast with the Gothic *lêsumês*, appears like a Doric form contrasted with an Ionic one*. While, in the second person singular, the Gothic *las-t*, on account of its monosyllabic nature, is based on Sanscrit forms like *tatantha*, the Old High German *lâsi* answers to the contracted form *ténitha*. It must be assumed that the Gothic *las*, *last*, was formerly *lailas*, *lailast*; and then, too, the plural *lêsum* stood in the proper relation to *lailas* (*lâlas*), i.e. in the relation of the weaker to the stronger radical form. We give, for a complete general view of the analogies existing between the Sanscrit and the German in the case before us, the

expressing the idea "who?" by *kas*, while the Sanscrit *kas*, according to fixed laws of sound becomes at one time *kah*, at another *kô*, at another *ka*, and appears in its original form only before *t* and *th*

* Regarding the Latin forms like *cēpi* (see § 548), it may be here further remarked, that Ag. Benary, also (*Doctrine of Latin Sounds*, p. 276, &c.), traces back the Latin perfect in all its formations to the Sanscrit aorist

reduplicated preterite of *सट sad* to sit to place one self corresponding to the Gothic *sat* and Old High German *saz* I *sate* connected with it in form and sense

SINGULAR

SANSKRIT	GOthic	OLD HIGH GERMAN
<i>sasād a</i> or <i>sasat a</i>	(<i>sa</i>) <i>sat</i>	(<i>si</i>) <i>sa</i>
<i>sasat tha</i> or <i>sed i tha</i>	(<i>sa</i>) <i>sat t</i>	<i>sāz i</i>
<i>sasād a</i>	(<i>sa</i>) <i>sat</i>	(<i>si</i>) <i>sa</i>

DUAL

<i>s d i a</i>	<i>situ ?</i> (see § 441)
<i>sad a thus</i>	<i>sit u ts</i>
<i>sad a tus</i>	

PLURAL

<i>sād i ma</i>	<i>set u-m,</i>	<i>sāz u mēs</i>
<i>sād a</i>	<i>sit u th</i>	<i>sāz u t</i>
<i>sad-us</i>	<i>sēt u n</i>	<i>sāz u n</i>

Remark 1—That in the example here given is generally in Grimm's tenth, eleventh and twelfth conjugations the *a* of the preterite is the real radical vowel—that in the present it is weakened to *i* and that the *i* of the present has not *vice versa* been strengthened in the preterite to *a*—I infer not only from this that the Sanskrit where it admits of comparison everywhere exhibits *a* as the unmistakeable radical vowel but especially from the circumstance that the Gothic causal verb where any such corresponds to the primitive verb everywhere uses the *a* in the present even which the primitive verb has retained merely in the preterite for instance from *SAT*

to sit comes the causal *safja* I set=Sanskrit *sādayāmi* If it were merely the object of the language to gain in the causal *a* vowel connected with the primitive verb but

strengthened, then if *SIT* were the root, from it would perhaps have proceeded *seitya* (= *sītya*) or *saitya*; and in reality the verbs, to which I ascribe *i* as the radical vowel, exhibit, in the causal, *ai*, as those with a radical *u* employ *au*, in exact agreement with the Sanscrit, where *i* and *u* receive Guna in the causal, *i* *e* prefix *a*. Thus in Gothic, from *ur-RIS*, 'to stand up,' (*ur-reisa*, *ur-rans*, *ur-risum*) comes *ur-ransya*, 'I raise up' from *DRUS*, 'to fall' (*drusa*, *draus*, *drusum*), *ga-drausya*, 'I plunge', as, in Sanscrit, from *vid* and *budh*, 'to know,' *viddayāmi* (= *vidayāmi*), *bōdhayāmi* (= *bandhayāmi*), 'I make to know'. The circumstance, that Sanscrit verbs with a radical *a* correspond to the Gothic *sal*, 'I sate,' *band*, 'I bound,' would not alone furnish any sufficient ground for assuming that the said and analogous Gothic verbs exhibit the root in the singular of the preterite, for it might equally be allowed that *binda* proceeds from the Sanscrit *bandh*, *sita*, from *sad*, and that an original *a* has here been corrupted to *i*, but it might still be maintained that the *a* of the pronoun *band*, *sal*, is not a transmission from the period of identity with the Sanscrit, but that it has been newly developed from the *i* of the present, because the change of sound of *i* to *a* is the symbol of the past. I object to this view, however, first, because not only does *sal* answer to *sasada* or *sasāda*, but also the plural *sētum* from *sātum*, Old High German *sāzumes*, to *sēdima* from *sādima* (*sa(s)adima*), and it is impossible to consider this double and surprising coincidence as fortuitous, secondly, because, as has been above remarked, the causals too recognise the *a* of the verbs under discussion as a radical vowel, thirdly, because substantives also, like *band*, *satz*, which have nothing to do with the expression of past time, or any other temporal relation, conform to the vowel of the preterite, fourthly, because generally, in the whole Indo-European family of languages, no case occurs of grammatical relations being

expressed by the change of the radical vowel fifthly because the reduplication which is the real expression of the past is still clearly retained in Gothic in the verbs mentioned above and is therefore adequate ground for assuming that *sat* is an abbreviation of *saisat* but that *selum* for *siltum* is a contraction of *sa(s)lum*

Remark 2—The Sanscrit roots which begin with a consonant which must be replaced by another cognate one refrain from the contraction described above for if the *g* of the base syllable of *jagam* dropped out and the two *a* were melted down to *a* then *jem* would assume an appearance too much estranged from the root and this is certainly the reason why the contraction is avoided It is omitted also in roots which begin with two consonants and indeed for the same reason for if the *st* of the second syllable of *tastan* was dropped the contracted form would be *ten* in which the root *stan* would no longer be recognised There are however a few exceptions from the restriction specified as *babhay* from *bhay* to pay homage is always contracted to भेन् *bhēn* as far as is yet known though वेन् *vēn* might be expected but the aspiration of the base consonant which has been dropped has been carried back to the syllable of repetition according to the principle of the above mentioned पिद् *dhiksh* for *didhaksh* from *dah* to burn (see § 593) It is more difficult to account for the fact of some roots which begin with two consonants having permitted themselves to be contracted and having retained both consonants in the syllable of repetition since to the reduplicated perfect theme *tatras* a contracted form *trēs* corresponds while from *satras* by rejecting the *tr* of the second syllable should come *tēs* Either then in *trēs* the *r* which is suppressed in the full reduplicated form (*tatras* for *tratras*) is again restored in order to comply with the requirement that the form of the root be not too much disfigured or

strengthened, then if *SIT* were the root, from it would perhaps have proceeded *scitya* (= *sitya*) or *sailya*, and in reality the verbs, to which I ascribe *i* as the radical vowel, exhibit, in the causal, *ai*, as those with a radical *u* employ *au*, in exact agreement with the Sanscrit, where *i* and *u* receive Guna in the causal, *i* *e* prefix *a*. Thus in Gothic, from *ur-RIS*, 'to stand up,' (*ur-risa*, *ur-raus*, *ur-risum*) comes *ur-rausya*, 'I raise up' from *DRUS*, 'to fall' (*diusa*, *diaus*, *diusum*), *ga-diausya*, 'I plunge', as, in Sanscrit, from *vid* and *budh*, 'to know,' *īdayāmi* (= *īdayāmi*), *bōdhayāmi* (= *bandhayāmi*), 'I make to know'. The circumstance, that Sanscrit verbs with a radical *a* correspond to the Gothic *sal*, 'I sate,' *band*, 'I bound,' would not alone furnish any sufficient ground for assuming that the said and analogous Gothic verbs exhibit the root in the singular of the preterite, for it might certainly be allowed that *binda* proceeds from the Sanscrit *bandh*, *sita*, from *sad*, and that an original *a* has here been corrupted to *i*, but it might still be maintained that the *a* of the pronoun *band*, *sal*, is not a transmission from the period of identity with the Sanscrit, but that it has been newly developed from the *i* of the present, because the change of sound of *i* to *a* is the symbol of the past. I object to this view, however, first, because not only does *sal* answer to *sasāda* or *sasāda*, but also the plural *sēlum* from *sātum*, Old High German *sāzumes*, to *sēduma* from *sāduma* (*sa(s)aduma*), and it is impossible to consider this double and surprising coincidence as fortuitous, secondly, because, as has been above remarked, the causals too recognise the *a* of the verbs under discussion as a radical vowel, thirdly, because substantives also, like *band*, *satz*, which have nothing to do with the expression of past time, or any other temporal relation, conform to the vowel of the preterite, fourthly, because generally, in the whole Indo-European family of languages, no case occurs of grammatical relations being

expressed* by the change of the radical vowel fifthly because the reduplication which is the real expression of the past is still clearly retained in Gothic in the verbs mentioned above and is therefore adequate ground for assuming that *sat* is an abbreviation of *saisat* but that *selum* for *siltum* is a contraction of *sa(s)lum*

Remark 2—The Sanscrit roots which begin with a consonant which must be replaced by another cognate one refrain from the contraction described above for if the *g* of the base syllable of *jagam* dropped out and the two *a* were melted down to *e* then *jem* would assume an appearance too much estranged from the root and this is certainly the reason why the contraction is avoided It is omitted also in roots which begin with two consonants and indeed for the same reason for if the *st* of the second syllable of *tastan* was dropped the contracted form would be *ten* in which the root *stan* would no longer be recognised There are however a few exceptions from the restriction specified as *babhay* from *bhay* to pay homage is always contracted to भेज् *bhij* as far as is yet known though भेज् *bhij* might be expected but the aspiration of the base consonant which has been dropped has been carried back to the syllable of repetition according to the principle of the above mentioned धिक् *dhiksh* for *didhaksh* from *dah* to burn (see § 593) It is more difficult to account for the fact of some roots which begin with two consonants having permitted themselves to be contracted and having retained both consonants in the syllable of repetition since to the reduplicated perfect theme *talras* a contracted form *três* corresponds while from *salras* by rejecting the *tr* of the second syllable should come *tês* Either then in *três* the *r* which is suppressed in the full reduplicated form (*talras* for *tratalras*) is again restored in order to comply with the requirement that the form of the root be not too much disfigured or

the forms like *trō* proceed from a period when the syllable of repetition still combined the two consonant, as in the Latin *populus, stela*, and in the Gothic *staploth*; or lastly, and this is most probable, form like *trō* proceed from a period when the language had completely forgotten the ground of their origin in contraction and when in forms like *clama* reduplication was no longer preserved but only the change of a radical *a* into *e* and it was believed that the true exponent of the relation of three to them recognised. Thus, in a negative, the Gothic *frithum*, 'we asked' (Sanskrit *pyritha* ^३ *na*, not *pe* 'then a from *prathā* 'to ask'), was prepared by Sanskrit forms like *trīṣṇa*, 'we trembled,' *brūmān*, 'we wound red,' and some similar ones. The Sanskrit and German in this agree most admirably, that roots which end with two consonants have not permitted the combination to make its way, certainly because, through their stronger construction, they had more power to bear the full reduplication (compare § 589) which has at last disappeared in Gothic in those verbs with a radical *a* which weaken that vowel, in the present, to *e*, so that *baed*, *bearda*, correspond to the Sanskrit *babandha*, *babandhamu*. To a Gothic present *bunda*, would correspond a preterite *barband*!

606 It is not requisite to assume that forms like *सदम* *sādma*, "we sate," which has been compared above (p 525) to the Gothic *sātum* and Old High German *sāzun*, existed so early as the period of the unity of language. I rather hold the Sanskrit *sādma* and Gothic *sātum* besides being identical in their root, to be connected only in this point, that they both, independently of each other have, in consequence of a contraction, lost the semblance of a reduplicated form, that in both the *e* stands for an older *ā*, which is preserved in the Old High German *sāzum*'s, that the Sanskrit *sād* for *sād* has sprung from *sasad*, as the Gothic *sāt* for *sāt* from *sasat*, the latter natu-

rally at a time when the syllable of repetition was still faithful to the radical syllable as regards the vowel. The contraction of polysyllabic forms into monosyllabic by rejecting the consonant of the second syllable or the consonant together with its vowel (as above in *lips* for *hlaps* § 592) is so natural that different languages may easily chance to coincide in this point but such an omission might most easily occur in reduplicated forms because the expression of the same syllable twice running might be fatiguing and therefore there would be a direct occasion for the suppression of the second syllable or its consonant. In verbs with radical *a* the occasion is the more urgent because *a* is the heaviest vowel and hence there is the more reason to seek for a diminution of weight. Latin forms like *cecini tetigi* (compared with such as *tutudi momordi*) comply with the requisition after being weakened by reducing the *a* to *i* in the base syllable and to *e* in the syllable of repetition while perfects (orists) like *cēpi fēci* in their process of diminishing the weight coincide with the Sanscrit *sédima* and Gothic *sétum* which does not prevent the assumption that each of the three languages has arrived at the contracted form in its own way as the Persian *em* and English *am* (= *em*). I am approach so closely because they both but quite independently of each other have abbreviated the primitive form *asmi* in the same way while in the third person the Persian and Latin *est* coincide through a similar corruption of the old form *asto*, or as the Old High German *fior* *uor* stands in the same relation to the Gothic *fididōr* that the Latin *quar* of *quar tus* does to the to be presupposed *quatuor tus*. In conclusion I shall further observe that the Gothic *man* I mean though a form according to the preterite and based on the Sanscrit *mamana* or *manuna** still

* The root *man* to think is indeed in the present condition of the language used only in the middle (thus *mēne* I he thou ht) which however

in the plural forms not *ménun*, after the analogy of *ménuna*, but *munun*, which leads us to conjecture an older *mainunum* for *manunum*, as *bundum* for *baibundum*, *bubundum*. Similarly, *skulum*, "we should," not *skelun* (singular *skal*). From *mag*, "I can," comes *mayun*, without weakening the *a* to *u*. In respect to this and similar verbs it may, however, be observed, that in the Sanscrit *vêda*, "I know," and Greek *οἶδα* (= Gothic *vail*, see § 191), the reduplication is lost, and perhaps, also, all German verbs, which associate the sense of the present with the terminations of the preterite, have never had reduplication, on which account there would be no reason to expect a *ménun* for *manun* from *mananum*.

607 Verbs with a radical *i* or *u* before a simple final consonant have Guna, in Sanscrit, before the light terminations of the reduplicated preterite, and, therefore, only in the singular of the active. This Guna, is the insertion of an *a* before the radical vowel, just as in Gothic (Grimm's eighth and ninth conjugations). As, however, with the exception of the few verbs which belong to the Sanscrit fourth class (see § 109^a 2), all strong verbs belong only to the Sanscrit fourth class, which, in the special tenses, has Guna pervading it, so also, in the German verbs with a radical *i* and *u*, Guna must be looked for in the present and the moods dependent thereon. The Guna vowel *a* has, however, in the present, been weakened to *i*, and is only retained as *a* in the monosyllabic preterite singular. While, therefore, the Sanscrit root *budh*, cl 1, "to know," forms, in the present, *bódhāmi*, pl. *bódhāmas* (= *baudhāmi*, *baudhāmas*), and, in the reduplicated preterite, *bubódha* (= *bubaudha*), plural *bubudhuma*, the corresponding Gothic root *BUD* ("to offer," "to order,") forms, in the present, *biuda*,* plural

however, does not prevent the assumption that originally an active also has existed.

* Gaff, who has in general supported with his assent my theory of the German *ablaut* (change of sound), which I first submitted in my Review of Grimm's

biudam and in the preterite *bauth* (see § 93) plural *budum*. In verbs with a radical *i* the Guna vowel *i* is melted down in German with the radical vowel to a long *i* which in Gothic is written *ei* * hence the Gothic root *BIT* to bite forms in the present *beita* (= *būta* Old High German *biu*) and in the singular of the preterite *bait* plural *bitum* answering to the Sanscrit *bibheda* (from *bibhaida*) I and he cleft *bibhūdima* we cleft. In the present *faṛbhud* if it belonged to the first class would form *bhēdam* to which the Gothic *beita* (from *būta*) has the same relation as above *biuda* to *bōdhām*. The relation of the Gothic *beita* from *būta* to the Sanscrit *bhedam* from *bhaudām* is like that of the plural nominative *fidei s* (from the base *FADI*) to the Sanscrit *patay as* from *pati* lord only that in *patay as* the *é* = *a + i* is resolved into *ay* on account of the following vowel.

608 We give here once more the Gothic *bait* I bit and *baug* I bowed over against the corresponding Sanscrit forms but so that varying from § 489 and our usual method we express the Sanscrit diphthongs *ए* and *ऐ* according to their etymological value by *ai* and *au* in order

Grimm's German Grammar differs in this point from the view above taken that he does not recognise in the *i* of *biuda* and in the first *i* of *beita* (= *būta* from *būta*) the weakening of the Sanscrit Guna vowel *a* but endeavours in three different ways to gain from the radical *i* and *u* in the present (written *ei* in Gothic) and *iu* (Old High German Thesaurus I pp 21 2) of which modes however none is so near and concise as that according to which the *i* of *biuda* is the weakening of the *a* of the Sanscrit *baudham* (contracted *bodham*) to which *biulu* has the same relation that the Old High German dative *sunu* to the son has to the Gothic *sunau* and Sanscrit *s nau* from the base *sunu* the final *u* of which receives Guna in the dative singular and nominative plural. In the former place the Gothic has retained the old Guna *a* and it is not till several centuries later that we first see this in Old High German weakened to *i* in the latter place (in the nominative plural) the Gothic even has admitted the weakening to *i* but changed it to *y* hence *sunys* for Sanscrit *s nau* as

* See § 70 and Voculismus p 94 Remark 13

to make the really astonishing agreement of the two languages more apparent. We also annex the Old High German, which replaces the Gothic diphthong *ai* by *ei*, and *au* by *ou* (before *T* sounds, *s* and *h* by *ô*) In the Old High German it is especially important to remark, that it replaces by the pure vowel of the root the diphthong in the second person singular, on account of the dissyllabic form, which here corresponds to the Gothic monosyllabic one, as a clear proof that the vowel opposition between singular and plural depends on the extent of the word or the weight of the terminations, as we have already perceived by the opposition between *a* in monosyllabic and the lighter *u* in polysyllabic ones (*bant*, *bunt*, *buntumê's*, see §. 601)

Sanscrit	Gothic	O H Germ	Sanscrit	Gothic	O H Germ
ROOT					
<i>bhid</i> , "split,"	<i>bit</i> , "bite,"	<i>biz</i> , "id."	<i>bhuj</i> , "bend,"	<i>bug</i> , "id,"	<i>bug</i> , "id "
SINGULAR					
<i>bibhaid-a</i> ,	<i>bait</i> ,	<i>beiz</i>	<i>bubhauj-a</i> ,	<i>baug</i> ,	<i>boug</i>
<i>bibhaid-i-tha</i> ,	<i>bais-t</i> , ¹	<i>biz-i</i>	<i>bubhauj-i-tha</i> ,	<i>baug-t</i> ,	<i>bug-i</i>
<i>bibhaid-a</i> ,	<i>bait</i> ,	<i>beiz.</i>	<i>bubhauj-a</i> ,	<i>baug</i> ,	<i>boug</i>
DUAL					
<i>bibhid-i-va</i> ,	<i>bit-û</i> , ²		<i>bubhuj-i-va</i> ,	<i>bug-û</i> , ²	
<i>bibhid-a-thus</i> ,	<i>bit-u-ts</i> ,		<i>bubhuj-a-thus</i> ,	<i>bug-u-ts</i> ,	
<i>bibhid-a-tus</i> ,			<i>bubhuj-a-tus</i> ,		
PLURAL					
<i>bibhid-i-ma</i> ,	<i>bit-u-m</i> ,	<i>biz-u-mês</i>	<i>bubhuj-i-ma</i> ,	<i>bug-u-m</i> ,	<i>bug-u-mês</i>
<i>bibhid-a'</i> ,	<i>bit-u-th</i> ,	<i>biz-u-t</i>	<i>bubhuj-a'</i> ,	<i>bug-u-th</i> ,	<i>bug-u-t</i>
<i>bibhid-us</i> ,	<i>bit-u-n</i> , ¹	<i>biz-u-n</i>	<i>bubhuj-us</i> ,	<i>bug-u-n</i> ,	<i>bug-u-n</i>

¹ See § 102² See § 441

609 The Greek second perfects like *πέποιθα*, *λέλοιπα*, *ῥοικα*, *πέφευγα* in respect to their Guna answer to the Sanscrit word just discussed, *bibhaida* (*bibhêda*), *bubhauja* (*bubhôja*), and Gothic *bait*, *baug* The circumstance, however, that the

Greek retains the Guna in the dual and plural and uses not *τε-οιδαμεν τεφ-οιδαμεν* but *τε-οιδαμεν τεφεν-οιδαμεν* raises a suspicion against the originality of the principle followed by the Sanscrit and German. We will therefore leave it undecided whether the Greek has extended unorganically to the plural numbers the Guna which was created only for the singular or whether the vowel strengthening of the reduplicated preterite was originally intended for the three numbers of the active and the coincidence of the Sanscrit and German in this point is only accidental that they have in the tense under discussion accorded to the weight of the terminations or extent of the word an influence in shortening the bisyllable. This influence is so natural that it need not surprise us if two languages in the course of time had admitted it independently of each other and then in the operation of this influence coincided as on one side the Gothic *bilum bugum* answering to *boul lauj* and on the other side the Sanscrit *bibhuhma bubhuyima* answering to *bibhauha bubhauji*. The German obtains a separate individuality in that the Old High German in the second person singular employs *bai bi* and not *bei bou* on account of their being dissyllabic while the Sanscrit in spite of their being of three syllables uses *bibhauhitu bubhaujitha*. It is certain that the Sanscrit in its present state has given to the weight of the personal terminations a far greater influence than could have existed at the period of the unity of language and that the Greek *δεδοκαμεν* with reference to the singular *δεδοκα* stands nearer to the primitive condition of the language than the Sanscrit *dadrihna* which has abbreviated the syllable *ar* of the singular *didaria* to *ri*. Observe also what has been remarked above regarding the retention of the Gothic *ð* and Greek *α* or *η* in the dual and plural while the Sanscrit exhibits the lengthening of a radical *u* to *ū* only in the first and third persons singular (§ 607)

610 As to the personal terminations of the reduplicated preterite, they deserve especial consideration, as they do not answer exactly to the primary endings, nor to the secondary. The ground of their varying from the primary terminations, to which they most incline (in Greek more clearly than in Sanscrit), lies palpably in the root being encumbered with the syllable of reduplication, which in various places has produced an abbreviation or entire extinction of the personal terminations. The first and third person singular have the same sound in Sanscrit, and terminate with the vowel, which should properly be only the bearer of the personal termination. The Gothic has even lost this vowel, hence, above, *baug, bait*, answering to *bubhauja* (*bubhója*), *bibharda* (*bibh'ida*). The Greek, however, has, in the third person, corrupted the old α to ϵ , just as in the aorist, where we saw $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ answer to the Sanscrit *adikshat*. In the same way, in the perfect, $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\upsilon\phi\epsilon$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\phi\kappa\epsilon$, &c. answer to the Sanscrit *tulópa* (= *tulaupa*) *dadarísa*, while in the first person, $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\upsilon\phi\alpha$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\phi\kappa\alpha$, stand on the same footing with the Sanscrit *tulópa*, *dadarísa* (from *dadarka*). As three languages, the Sanscrit, Greek, and Gothic, and a fourth the Zend (where *dadarísa* appears in the form داداريسا *dadaréša*), agree with one another in this, that in the first and third person of the sense under discussion they have lost the personal designation, it might be inferred that this loss occurred as early as the period of the unity of language. But this inference is not necessary, for in the incumbrance of the root by the syllable of reduplication there lies so natural an occasion for weakening the termination, that the different cognate languages might well have followed this impulse independently of each other. And the three languages (the Zend, whose long sojourn with the Sanscrit is evident, may remain unnoticed) do not stand quite on the same footing with respect to the disturbing influence which they have permitted to the syllable of reduplication. The Sanscrit has yielded more to this influence than

its Greek and German sisters and our forms like *thir bisset* 'you bit' *thir boget* 'you bent' are more perfect in their termination at this day than what we can draw from the Sanscrit in contrast to them from the oldest period of its literature. The Sanscrit reduplicated preterite has for instance lost the termination of the second person plural from the oldest time and this person is therefore either completely the same with the first and third person singular or distinguished from it only by the removal of the Guna or by an abbreviation in the interior of the root from which the singular has remained free e.g. the first and third person singular and second person plural of *kṛand* 'to weep' are *chakrandā* in the two former places the Gothic *gaggrōt* corresponds to it and indeed shows to disadvantage through its loss of the final vowel in the second person plural however *gaggrōt u th* surpasses the Sanscrit *chakrand-a* which has evidently been preceded by a form *chalrand-a tha* or *chakrand-a ta*. To the Greek *τετυφατε* *ἑδωκετε* *ατε* correspond in Sanscrit *tutupa-a dadris-a* for *tutupa a tha dadris u th*.

611 The Sanscrit reduplicated preterite stands in disadvantageous comparison with the Greek perfect in this point also that in the middle and passive it has not only like the present lost the *m* of the first person but also the *t* of the third thus *tutupa* stands for *tutupa-m* and *tutupa t* and in the former case is surpassed by *τετυμμαι* in the latter by *τετυπται* as respects the correct preservation of the termination. From *τετυμμαι τετυπται* it may be inferred that the active was formerly *τετυπαμι τετυπασι οι τετυφαμι τετυφατε* and in Sanscrit *tutupa-a mi* (or *tutupa-a mi* see § 131) *tutupa a ti*. The conjunctive vowel is suppressed in Greek before the weightier terminations of the middle passive according to the principle by which the *η* of the optative and the corresponding *i* of the Sanscrit potential is dropped in the middle and e.g. *διδουμθα* *dadūmtha* correspond to the active *διδουμι* *dadyuma*. The Sanscrit in the middle and the

passive, which in this tense is fully identical with the middle, prefixes to the personal terminations beginning with a consonant a conjunctive vowel *i* (see § 605), hence *tutup-i-shé* answering to the Greek *τέτυπ-σαι*. Yet in the Vêda dialect the form *tutup-sé* might be expected, as this dialect often suppresses the conjunctive vowel of the common language, and, in the Rig Vêda (XXXII 4.), from *vid*, class 6, "to find," occurs the form *vivil-sé*, "thou didst find," for the common *vivid-i-shé*.

612 The third person plural of the middle passive exhibits in Sanscrit the termination *nt*, which, in the common language, always precedes the conjunctive vowel *i*, which, however, may be withdrawn in the Vêda dialect, where, *dadhis-ré*, "they were seen," occurs for *dadhisire* (Rig Vêda, XXXIV. 10). It is hardly possible to give a satisfactory explanation of this termination. I have elsewhere (Lesser Sanscrit Grammar, § 372. Rem 4) remarked, that its *r* is perhaps a corruption of an original *s*, which otherwise, in Sanscrit, occurs only in the initial sound, and regularly, indeed, before sonant letters, in case a vowel other than *a* or *i* precedes the *s*. This being the case, this *r* would belong to the verb substantive, and we should remark, that in Greek, also, this verb, in certain tenses, is found only in the third person plural, while the rest are simple (*ἐδίδουσαν*, *ἔδουσαν*). The Sanscrit intended probably, in the case before us, if the *r* really stands for *s*, by this change to lighten the sound, as occurs in the Old High German, where, in all roots in *is* and *us*, and in part of the roots in *as*, the radical sibilant in the preterite is retained only in the monosyllabic forms, but in the polysyllabic is weakened to *r*, hence, from *RIS*, "to fall" (Sanskrit *bhrans*), *reis*, *vur*, *reis*, *rurumes*, &c, from *LUS*, "to lose," *lös*, *luri* (see § 608), *lös*, *lurumés*, &c, from *was*, "I was," "he was," comes the second person *wâr*, the plural *wârumés*, &c.

613 With the *i* of the Sanscrit termination *nt* is

clearly connected that of the termination *ran* of the third person plural middle potential and precative where *ran* in my opinion is an abbreviation of *rantā* and also the *r* which the root *si* to lie (Greek *κείμαι*) adds in the third person plural of all special tenses (*sératē* they lie *asérata* "they lay *sératām* let them lie) The root *vid* to know Class 2 in combination with the preposition *sam* admits at will the addition of such an *r* in the present imperfect and imperative hence *samīdratē* or *samīdatē* they know (Panini VII 1 7) The Vedic dialect gives to the addition of this enigmatical *r* in the middle and passive a still wider extension (Panini VII 1 9) and exhibits *adāhṛa* they milked for *adāhṛata* instead of the common *adūhata* Remarkable also are the forms *adrisran* and *asrigran** from *adrisanta* *asriganta* for *adrisanta* *asryanta* The Anusvara of this Vedic termination *ran* which may have been formerly *rant* (with *s* from *t* compare p 731) passes into *m* before vowels hence Rig Veda IX 1 *asrigram* इन्द्र ते गिरा *asrigram* *Indra tē girah* effusi sunt *Indra t tibi hymni*, L 3 *adrisram* *asya ketav o ri rasmayā janān anu* conspicuntur *ejus collus trantes radu inter homines* †

* The former is an aorist of the sixth formation from the root *dris* which is not used in the special tenses but *asrigran* in which the retention of the original guttural instead of the palatal of the common language is to be noticed does not in my opinion admit of being explained as an aorist as Westergaard makes it but appears to me as an imperfect as the roots of the sixth class, when they do not insert a nasal in the special tenses are incapable of the sixth aorist formation because they could not be distinguishable from the imperfect Why should not the imperfect as well as the aorist be capable of replacing the termination *anta* by *ran*?

† Compare Westergaard Radices p 269 Rosen takes *adrisran* actively and in the first passage, *asrigram* as the first person singular active which however will not do Pretences with a present signification are very common in the Vedas

614. The conjunctive vowel *i*, which the middle uses in almost all persons, may formerly have been an *a*, and it is still more probable that the active, as in Greek, everywhere had an *a* as conjunctive vowel, that therefore the form *tutup-i-ma* was preceded by a form *tutup-a-ma* (or *tutup-ā-ma*, see § 431), as analogous to the Greek *τετύφ-α-μεν*, an opinion which is also corroborated by the Gothic *u-m*, as in *gagriót-u-m*, "we wept," which leads us to expect a Sanscrit *chakrand-a-ma* or *ā-ma* for *chakrand-i-ma*, as the Gothic *u* very often occurs as the weakening of an original *a*, but not as the increase of an original *i*.

615. In the second and third person dual the Sanscrit has firmly retained the old conjunctive vowel *a*, but the *a* of the primary terminations *thas*, *tas*, has been weakened to *u*, probably on account of the root being enumbered by the syllable of reduplication, hence, *tutup-a-thus*, *tutup-a-tus*, correspond to the Greek *τετύφ-α-τον*, *τετύφ-α-τον* from *-τος*, *τος*, see § 97), and *chakrand-a-thus*, "ye two wept," to the Gothic *gagriót-u-ts* of the same import. The *a* of these dual forms is never suppressed, and hence is regarded by grammarians as belonging to the termination itself, while the terminations *va* and *ma* of the first person dual and plural occasionally occur also, in direct combination with the root, as from *sīdh*, "to stop," come both *sīśidhva*, *sīśidhma*, and *sīśidha*, *sīśidhma*. Thus we find in Greek, also, the *α* occasionally suppressed before the heavier terminations of the dual and plural. Here belong, besides, *ἴσμεν* for *οἶδαμεν* (see § 491), *οἴγμεν*, *οἴκτον*, *ἄνωγμεν*, *δέδιμα*. But on these forms no special relationship is to be based, but only a coincidence of principle, for in the operation of the law of gravity it is so natural that two languages should, independently of one another, free themselves before heavy terminations of a semi-vowel, not indispensable for the idea to be conveyed,

that it is quite unnecessary to assume here an old transmission

616 With regard to the termination *ṡtha* of the second person singular we direct attention to § 453. It may be here additionally remarked that if the Greek $\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ —which is there referred to $\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ *ṡtha* for which would stand without the vowel of conjunction *ṡtha*—is not a remnant of the perfect but actually belongs to the imperfect the Sanscrit middle imperfect $\alpha\sigma\theta\eta\sigma$ *ṡsthṡs* would admit of comparison with it. But I prefer referring this $\eta\sigma\theta\alpha$ to the perfect, and placing it on the same footing with $\omicron\sigma\theta\alpha$ which with respect to its termination corresponds well with $\check{e}\check{t}\check{h}\check{a}$ and the Gothic *ians-t*. The Old High German also which in its strong preterites has preserved only the conjunctive vowel of the Sanscrit *ṡtha* and hence opposes to the Sanscrit *bhauy ṡtha* (*bubhy ṡtha*) and Gothic *baug t* thou didst bow the form *bug t* has in preterites which like the Sanscrit *ṡda* Greek $\omicron\sigma\alpha$ and Gothic *tail* have present signification retained the old *t* in direct combination with the root as *weis t* (euphonic for *wei-t*) corresponds to the Gothic *vars t* Greek $\omicron\sigma\theta\alpha$ and Sanscrit *ṡt tha* (*ṡt tha*). Here belong also *muos t* thou must, *ṡh t* thou art fit * *mah t* thou earnest *scal t* thou shouldst *on s t* thou art inclined *dost not grudge* (with euphonic *s* see § 9, the form cannot be cited but cannot be doubted) *chan s t* thou earnest *thou knowest* *gelars t* thou venturdest *darf t* thou didst require

* Does not occur but can be safely deduced from the third person *touk* and the preterite *t t ta*

† The *s* is not as I formerly assumed euphonic (§ 91) but belongs to the root which before vowels assimilates its *s* to the preceding *r* (as Greek $\theta\ \rho\rho\ \epsilon\ \theta\alpha\rho\rho\ \omega$) rejected when in the terminating sound but preserved before *t* hence in the first and third person singular *je tar* third person plural *ge turren ge turren*. In the Sanscrit corresponds *ṡars t* (*ṡhars t*) to venture, in Lithuanian *drys ti* comp. Pott I. 270 Crast V. 411

617 It deserves further to be remarked with respect to the Gothic, that the roots terminating with a vowel prefix an *s* to the *t* of the second person at least the second person of *saisþ*, "I sowed," is *saisþ-st* (Luc xix. 21), from which we may also infer *varvþ-st*, from the root *VÖ*, "to blow" (Sanskrit *vā*), and *laulþ-st*, from *LÖ*, "to laugh." As to the relation of the *ai* of the present (*vara*, *lara*, *sara*) to the *ó* of the preterite and of the root, it resembles that of *binda*, "I bind," to *BAND*, i. e. as the *a* of this and similar roots has weakened itself in the present to *i*, the same has been done by the latter half of the *ó* = *â*, or *a + a*. In the same way, in Sanskrit, a long *â* is sometimes weakened to *ī* = *ai*, e. g. in the vocative of the feminine bases in *â* (see § 205). But to return to the Gothic root *SÖ*, I am not inclined to infer from the third person present *sary-i-th*, which actually occurs (Mark iv 14), a first person *sarya*, but believe, that only before *i* a *y* is added to the diphthong *ai*, and that the third person singular and second person plural of *vara* and *lara* also must be *varynth*, *larynth*, and the second person singular *varys*, *larys*. But if the root *SÖ* had, in the first person singular, formed *sarya*, then the third person plural would certainly have been *saryand*, the infinitive *saryan*, and the present participle *saryands*, on the other hand, at Matth iv 26 occurs *saiand*, "they sow," 1 c. 4, 5, *saiands*, "the sower," and *saiar*, "to sow."

618 The Sanskrit roots in *â* (the analogy of which is followed by those also with a final diphthong, which are, for the most part, dealt with in the general tenses as if they ended with *â*) employ in the first and third persons *au* for *â* or *a*, for the *â* of the root should be melted down with the *a* of the termination to *â*, or be dropped as before the other terminations beginning with a vowel. Instead of this, however, *au* is used, e. g. ददौ *dadâu*, "I gave," "he gave," from *dâ*, तस्थौ *tasthâu*, "I stood," "he stood," from *sthâ*. If *âu* was found only in the first person, I should not hesitate

recognising in the *u* the vocalization of the personal character *m* as in the Gothic *siyan* 'I may be answering' to the Sanscrit *स्यान्* *syām* and in Lithuanian forms in *au* (§ 119). This view of the matter however appears less satisfactory if we are compelled to assume that the termination *du* after its meaning had been forgotten and the language had lost sight of its derivation had found its way unorganically into the third person though such changes of person are not unheard of in the history of language as in the Gothic passive where the first and third persons have likewise the same termination but reversed through the transposition of the ending of the third person in the first and in the plural also into the second (§ 160). But if the termination *lu* of *dadlu* *deds* *dedit* stands with the same right in the third person that it does in the first and no personal ending is contained in it then the *u* of the diphthong *du* may be regarded as the weakening of the causative termination or conjunctive vowel *a* so that the *u* according to the principle of Vridhhi would have united with the preceding *d* into *du* (see § 20) while in the ordinary contractions an *d* is shortened before its combination with *u* or *i* to *a* and then with *u* becomes *d=au* and with *i* *d=ai*.

619 The Sanscrit verbs of the tenth class and all derivative verbs, periphrastically express the reduplicated preterite by one of the auxiliary verbs—*kṛi* 'to make' as and *bhū* 'to be'—the reduplicated preterites of which are referable to the accusative of an abstract substantive in *d* which is not used in the other cases before which the character *dy* of the tenth class and of the causal forms is retained e.g. *chōrayānchakāra* (euphonic for *chōrayām-ch*) 'he made steal', or *chōrayāmbāsa* or *chōrayāmbabhūsa*.

* The root *h* irregularly contains in the syllable of repetition an *a* instead of the shortened radical vowel omits in the first and third

620 It is very important to observe that it is the verbs of the tenth class causal forms and other derivative verbs which particularly employ this periphrastic formation of the reduplicated preterite and do not admit the simple formation for hereby the way is in a manner prepared for the German idioms which without exception paraphrase their preterite by an auxiliary verb signifying to do precisely in that conjugation in which we have recognised the Sanscrit tenth class in three different forms (see §§ 109 6 501) I have asserted this as regards the Gothic already in my System of Conjugation (p 151 &c) where I have shewn in plurals like *sökidedum* we sought (made to seek) and in the conjunctive in the singular also (*sökidedyau* I would make to seek) an auxiliary verb signifying to do and a word related to *dēths* the act, * (Theme *didi*) Since then Grimm with whom I fully coincide has extended the existence of the auxiliary verb also to the singular *sökida* and therefore to the other dialects for if in *solida* the verb to do is contained it is self evident that it exists also in our *suchte* I had before derived the singular *sökida* from the passive participle *sökiths* (theme *sökida*) But since I now recognise the verb (*thun*) to do also in *sölida* I sought I believe—in which I differ from Grimm—that we must in respect to their origin fully separate from one another the passive participle and the indicative preterite† great as the agreement of the two forms is which in Gothic amounts to complete identity for the theme of *sökiths* the sought is *sölida* (see § 135) thus fully the same as *sölida* I sought and *salboda* the theme of *salbōths* the anointed is in

* It is preserved only in *missa dēths* misdeed but is etymologically identical with our *that* Old High German *tat* Old Saxon *dad*

† Compare my Vocalismus pp 51 &c

form identical with *salbōda*, "I anointed." This circumstance, too, was likely to mislead, that participles in *da* (nominative *ths*) occur only in verbs which form their preterites in *da*, while in strong verbs the passive participle terminates in *na* (nominative *ns*), and, e.g. *bug-a-na*, "bent" (theme *bug-a-na*), corresponds to the Sanscrit *bhug-na-s*. In Sanscrit, however, passive participles in *na* are comparatively rare, and the vast majority of verbs form them by the suffix *ta*,* on which the Latin *tu-s*, Greek τός (πλεκτός, ποιητός,) Lith *ta-s* (*suk-ta-s*, "tuned") are based. This suffix has, however, nothing in common with the verb *thun*, "to do," under discussion, and therefore, also, the Gothic suffix *da* of *SÖK-I-DA*, *sōkiths*, can have nothing to do with the *da* of *sōkida*, "I sought," when elsewhere this *da* signifies "I did," just as *dēdum* in *sōkiddēdum* means "we did," and *dē-ths*, "the deed."

621 The just mentioned *dē-ths*,† to which the Old Saxon *dād* and Old High German *tāt* correspond, is, in the theme, *dēdi*, the *i* of which is suppressed in the nominative (see § 135) the genitive is *dēdar-s*, the accusative plural *dēdi-ns*. The final syllable of the base *dēdi* corresponds to the Sanscrit suffix *ti*, which forms abstract substantives, and, in the Gothic, occurs under the form of *ti*, *thi*, or *di*, according to the measure of the letter preceding

* Compare *tyak-ta-s*, "forsaken," *kri-ta-s*, "made," *beri-ta-s*, "borne." I remark, *en passant*, that the Latin *la-tus* might become connected with *britas*, from *bhar-tas*, in the same way as *latus*, "broad," with *mithn-s*, πλετός thus, the labial being lost, *r* being exchanged with *l*, and *al* transposed to *la* = *ra*, as, in the Greek, ἔδρακον for ἐοαρκον.

† I write the non-occurring nominative *dēths*, not *dēds*, since *d* after vowels, before a final *s*, and at the end of words, generally becomes *th*, hence, also, *sōkiths*, "sought," from the base *sōkida*, and *mannasēths*, "world," literally "human-seed," from the base *sē-di* and the root *sō*, "to sow" (*sara*, *sarsō*, see § 617). *Sēdi* has the same relation to *sō*, in regard to its radical vowel, that *tēka*, "I touch," has to the preterite *taitōh*.

it (see § 91) There remains therefore *dē* in Old Saxon *dā* in Old High German *tā* as the root and thus regularly corresponds to the Sanscrit Zend *𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀸* *dhā* *𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀸* *dā* to set to make (see p 112) from which might be expected an abstract substantive *𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀸𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀸* *dhā ti s* *𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀸𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀸* *dā ti s* which would answer to the Greek *θεσις* (from *θετις*) It is a question then whether in the Gothic *dedum* of *sokidedum* the first syllable is fully identical with that of *DĒDI* the deed? I think it is not and consider *dēdum* and the conjunctive *dēdyau* plural *dēdeima* as reduplicated forms so that thus the second syllable of *dēdum* *dēdyau* would be to be compared with the first of *DĒDI* *dēd* The *dē* of *dēdum* we did *dē-dyau* I would do, considered as the syllable of reduplication is distinguished from the common reduplicated preterites like *vai iūm* we blew *sai so-um* we sowed *taitōkum* we touched by its *d* for *ai* It may be then that this *d* which has proceeded from *ai* is the contraction of *a + i* to a mixed sound according to the Sanscrit principle (see § 2) or that according to an older principle of reduplication the *d* of *dēdum* just like that of *DĒDI* represents the original long *a* of the Sanscrit root *dhā* (see § 69) which is retained unchanged in the Old High German *tāt* and Old Saxon *dād* In the last syllable of *dē-dum* *dē dyau* we miss the radical vowel according to the analogy of *vai iō um* *sai so-um* we should expect *dēdō-um* The abbreviation may be a consequence of the incumbrance owing to composition with the principal verb however it occurs in Sanscrit even in the simple word since in the reduplicated preterite *da dh i ma* we did set *da dh us* they did set are correctly said for *da dhā i ma* *dadhā us* Even in the present the root *dhā* which as a verb of the third class has reduplication in the special tenses also with *du* class 3 to give irregularly reject the radical vowel before the heavy terminations of the dual and

plural, thus, *dadh-mas* for *dadhâ-mas*, just so, in the whole potential mood, where *dadh-yâm* (for *dadhâ-yâm*), *ponam*, answers remarkably to the Gothic *dêd-yau* (from *sôkidêd-yau*), "I would do," for *dêdô-yau*

622 The singular of *sôkidêdum*, *sôkidêduth*, *sôkidêdun*, is *sôkida*, *sôkide's*, *sôkida*, with the loss of the syllable of reduplication. Yet *dê's* is perhaps an abbreviation of *dê'st*, as, in the preterite, *t*, answering to the Sanscrit त् *tha*, is properly the character of the second person (see § 453), before which a radical *T* sound passes, according to § 102, into *s*, as, *bais-t*, *bans-t*, for *baît-t*, *band-t*. So, also, *dê's* might have proceeded from *dê's-t*, and thus from *dêd-t*. In the simple state, the auxiliary verb under discussion is wanting in Gothic, at least, it does not occur in Ulfilas, but in Old Saxon, *dô-m*, *dô-s*, *dô-t* (or *dô-d*), correspond admirably to the Sanscrit *dadhâ-mi*, *dadhâ-si*, *dadhâ-ti*, with *ô* for *a*, according to the Gothic principle (see § 69), and with the suppression of the syllable of reduplication, which, as has been already remarked, the Sanscrit verb, according to the principle of the third class, exhibits, like the Greek τίθημι, in the present also. The preterite in Old Saxon, as in all the other German dialects, has preserved the reduplication, and is, *deda*, *dedô-s*, *deda*, plural *dedun*, also *dâdun*,* properly the third person, which, in the Old Saxon preterite, as in the Gothic passive (§ 166), represents both the first and second person. In this *ded-u-n* or *dâd-u-n*, therefore, the radical vowel, as in the Gothic *sôkidêdum* (for *sôkidêdô-u-n*), is dropped before the conjunctive vowel. The *e* of *deda*, &c., has arisen from *i*, which has been actually retained in Anglo-Saxon. Here the preterite under discussion has *dide*, *dide'st*, *dide*, plural *didon*, in the three persons. These forms, therefore, in respect to their reduplication syllable, answer to the pre-

* See Schmeller's *Glossarium Saxonieum*, p. 25

terites with concealed reduplication as Old High German *hi alt* for *hihalt* (see § 592). The Old Saxon *dādan* which occurs in the plural together with *dādan* as also in the second person singular *dādi* is found together with *dado-s* (see Schmeller's Gloss) is unorganic and follows the analogy of Grimm's tenth and eleventh conjugations. i.e. it is produced in the feeling as if *dad* was the root and first and third person in the singular preterite and the present *dadu*. Thus also in the conjunctive with *d-di* exists the form *dādi*. In Old High German also the forms which have a long *a* in the conjugations named employ this letter in the auxiliary verb under discussion and indeed without a dissentient authority* without however in a single one the first and third person singular being *ta* as might have been expected from the second person *tāti* (like *id-ā* answering to *sar* see the second table in § 603). I annex the preterite in full according to Grimm *1 ta 1 ti 1 tu 1 tūm's 1 tāt 1 tātun* conjunctive *1 tāt 1 tāti 1 ti 1 tātmes 1 tāt 1 tātun*. The present is *tuō-m tuō-s tuō-t tuō-mēs tuō-t tuō-nt* which in its way answers to the Sanscrit *da dhāmi* just as well as the Old Saxon *do m &c* as *uo* in Old High German is the most common representative of the Gothic and Old Saxon *e* and therefore of the Sanscrit *a* as in *far* answering to the Gothic *for* and Sanscrit *chāre* from *chachāra* I went he went. The Middle High German is, in the present *tum tuō-st tuō-t tuō-n tuō-t tum-t* in the preterite *tete tete t-te* † plural *tāten tātet tāten* conjunctive *tete* &c. Our German *that thate* follows exactly the analogy of forms like *tral trale las lase* (Grimm's tenth conjugation) and would lead us to expect a present *thete* from *thate* the

* See Criff V. 207, where however remark that very few authorities in linguistics graphically the long *a* from the short.

† Also *tit* and *tete* the latter unorganic and as if the first *e* had not been produced from *i* but thron *h* and *ant* from *a*. See Grimm I. 1. 18.

recollection of a reduplication which is contained in *that* is completely destroyed, but just as much so the possibility of connection with the weak preterites like *suchte*, to which recourse must be had, if we wish to reject the opinion first given by Grimm (I. p 1012), but not firmly held by him, that the Old-Saxon *deda*, Anglo-Saxon *dide*, Old High German *tela*, Middle High German *tete*, rest on reduplication.* The passive participle *gi-tā-nēr*, *ge-tha-ner*, answers to the Sanscrit like *mlā-na*, "withered," from *mlāu* (*mlā*), or *dā-na*, "gift" (properly "that given"), from *dā*, of which the common participle is *datta* (from *dadāta*), the reduplication being irregularly retained. The Sanscrit tenth class agrees with the German weak conjugation (the prototype of which it is) in this point, that it never forms its passive participles in *na*, but always in *ta*, on which is based the Gothic *da* of *SŌKIDA*, nominative masculine *sōkiths*, "sought."

623 To return to the Gothic *sōkida*, "I sought," "made to seek," after acknowledging in the *ya* of *sōkya*, "I seek," the character of the Sanscrit tenth class अया *aya*, and in *sōki-da*, "I make to seek," a copy of the Sanscrit *chōrayām-chakāra* (or *chakara*), "I made to steal," we now consider the *i* of *sōkida* as the contraction of the syllable *yā*, in which we agree with Grimm. The *i* of *sōkida*, therefore, represents the Sanscrit *ayām* of *chōrayām-chakāra* (अय n euphonic for m), "I made to steal", or, in order to select kindred verbs, the *i* of the Gothic *sati* of *sati-da*, "I made to place," corresponds to

* The substantive *dē-ths* (theme *dē-dī*), *tā-t*, cannot stand in our way, since its formation has nought to do with the reduplication, nor with the weak conjugation, but here *dē*, *tā*, is the root, and *dī*, *tī*, the derivation-suffix mentioned in § 91. Nor can the participle *gi-tā-ner*, *hi-tā-ner*, *ge-tha-ner*, induce us to look for passive participles in the weak conjugations like *gi-salbō-tāner* instead of *gi-salbōtēr*, *ge-salbter*, because we make this participle independent of the auxiliary verb *thun* (compare *Vocalismus*, p 77)

the Sanscrit *ayam* (or rather only its *y*) of *sādayam chakāra*

I made to sit the Gothic *than* of *than da* I extended corresponds to the Sanscrit *tanayām* of *tanayan chakara* I made to make extend the Gothic *vas* of *vas da* I made to clothe corresponds to the Sanscrit *vasayam* of *vasayān chakara* I made to cause to be clothed (*vasayami* I cause to clothe *as* causal of *vas* to clothe) It might be conjectured that the first member of the Gothic compounds under discussion originally in like manner carried an accusative termination just as in ider it is an accusative As that is to say in the present state of the language Gothic substantives have entirely lost the accusative sign it would not surprise us to find it wanting in these compositions also At an earlier period of the language *satin da* *thanin da* *vasin da* may have corresponded to the Sanscrit *sādayam* *tanayam* *vasayam* the *m* of which before the *ch* of the auxiliary verb must become *ṃ n* The selection of another auxiliary verb in German but which has the same meaning cannot surprise us as the Sanscrit also occasionally as has been already shewn employs another verb for the idea of doing (see p 812), or sets in its place the verb substantive *as* or *bhū*

624 Grimm's second conjugation of the weak form of which *salbo* is given as example has as has already been observed cast out like the Latin first conjugation the semi vowel which holds the middle place in the Sanscrit *aya* of the tenth class and the two short *a* then coalesce in Gothic into *o = a + a* as in Latin into *a* Hence in the preterite Gothic forms like *salbo da* I made to anoint correspond to the Sanscrit like *chorayān chakara* I made to steal as *laugo* from *lauyo-da* I made to lick answers to the Sanscrit *lēhayam* (= *lahayam*) from *lehayān chakāra* I made to cause to lick It must not be forgotten that the Sanscrit tenth class is at the same time the form of causal verbs which admit of being formed from all roots hence also in

Grimm's third class of the weak conjugation (which has preserved the two first syllables of the Gothic *aya* in the form of *ai*, in accordance with the Latin *i* of the second conjugation, and the analogous Prakrit forms*), the Gothic preterites *munai-da*, "I thought," *banai-da*, "I built," *ga-yukai-da*, "I subjected to the yoke," correspond to the Sanscrit causal preterites *mānayān-chakāra*, "I caused to make to think," *bāvayān-chakāra*, "I caused to make to be," "I produced, created"†

625 In Sanscrit, besides the tenth class and derivative verbs, there are verbs which paraphrase the reduplicate preterite by forming directly from the root an abstract substantive in *ā*, and combining with its accusative one of the abovementioned auxiliary verbs. All roots, for instance, do this, which begin with vowels which are long either naturally or by position, with the exception of an *ā* long by position and the root *āp*, "to reach", as *īśān-chakāra*, "I made to rule," from *īś*, "to rule." Compare with this the Gothic *brah-ta*, "I brought," answering to the strong present *bringga* (*bringa*). Moreover, the paraphrased preterites, to which, instead of the present, a simple preterite with present meaning corresponds (see § 616), and which, in the preterite, just like *brah-ta*, combine the auxiliary verb *thun* direct with the root, in which junction its *T* sound is governed by the final consonants of the principal verb, and in Gothic appears at one time as *t*, at another as *th*, at another as *d* (compare § 91), and after the *t* of *UIT*, "to know," as *s* (see § 102) hence, *mōs-ta*, "I must," preterite (*mōt*, "I must," present), *mun-tha*, "I meant" (*man*, "I mean"), *skul-da*, "I should" (*skul*, "I should," present), *vis-sa* for *vis-ta*, "I knew" (*vair*, "I

* See p 110

† The Gothic verb, also, is, according to its meaning, a causal from a lost primitive, which, in Old High German, in the first person present, is *him*, see § 510

know see § 491) A few weak verbs also with the derivation *ya* suppress its representative *z* and annex the auxiliary verb direct to the root. They are in Gothic but four viz *thah ta* I thought (present *thagkya*) *bauh ta* I bought (with *au* for *u* according to § 82 present *bugya*) *aurh ta*

I made (present *aurkya*) *thuh ta* it appeared (*thugl* it appears) The Old High German however usually suppresses the derivative *z* after a long radical syllable and with the cause disappears also the effect viz the *umlaut* produced by the *z* (see § 73) in as far as the original vowel is an *a* hence *nan ta** I named *tran ta*† I turned *lër ta*

I taught answering to the Gothic *nanmu da vandî da lusi da* These and similar verbs have also in the present and the forms depending on it lost the *y* or *z* of the derivation *ya*‡ but have preserved the *umlaut* whence it is clear that the *y* or *z* must have here adhered much longer than in the preterite (*nennu wendu lëru*)

626 The passive participle in Gothic with respect to the suppression or retention of the derivative *z* and with regard to the euphonic change of the final consonant of the root always keeps equal pace with the preterite active hence may be inferred from the Gothic *ôh ta* I feared a participial base of similar sound *ôh ta* feared nominative *ôhts* though this participle cannot be cited as occurring 'Toge

101 *nann ta* see § 107

† For *wand ta* see § 107 I consider this verb as identical with the Sanscrit *vart* (*vrit*) to go to be (with the preposition *na* 'to return') and the Latin *verto* with exchange of the liquids *r* and *n* This does not prevent our *werden* being referred to the root *vart* as it often happens that a root separates into different forms with distinct meanings

‡ As the Old High German does not distinguish the *y* from *z* it cannot be known whether the *neriu neriam s* which corresponds to the Gothic *nasya* I save *nasyam* we save should be pronounced *neyyu ner yim s* or *neriu neriam s* though at the oldest period *y* would certainly have been used

ther with *vauh-ta*, "I made," from *vaukya*, exists a participle *vauhts*, "the made" (theme *vaurhta*), Maik xiv 58, and with *fra-bauh-ta*, "I sold," from *frabugya*, is found *fra-bauhts*, "the sold," John xiv 5. From such euphonic coincidences, however, we cannot deduce an historical descent of the passive participle from the preterite active, or *vice versa*, just as little as it could be said, that, in Latin, the participles in *tus* and *turus*, and the nouns of agency in *tor*, really proceed from the supine, because from *doctum*, *monitum*, may be inferred *doctus*, *monitus*, *docturus*, *moniturus*, *doctor*, *monitor*. It is natural that suffixes which begin with one and the same syllable, even if they have nothing in common in their origin, should still, in external analogy, approach one another, and combine similarly with the root. In German, indeed, the auxiliary verb *thun*, and the suffix of the passive participle, if we recur to their origin, have different initial sounds, as the former rests on the Sanscrit $\sqrt{d}h\acute{a}$, the latter on the suffix πta but inasmuch as the latter, in Gothic, instead of becoming *tha*, according to the law for the changing of sounds, has, with the preceding derivative vowel, assumed the form *da*, it is placed on the same footing with the auxiliary verb, which regularly commences with *d*, and is consequently subject to the same fate. The same is the case with the suffix of abstract substantives, which is, in Sanscrit, *ti*, but in Gothic, after vowels, *di*, and after consonants, according to their nature, either *ti*, *thi*, or *di*, and thus may also, from the preterite *mah-ta*, "I could," be deduced a substantive *mah-ts* (theme *mah-ti*), "might," without the latter proceeding from the former.

627 We must therefore reject the opinion, that, in Gothic, *sókida*, "I sought," and *sókiths* (theme *sókida*), "the sought," *sókida* (theme *sókido*), "the sought" (fem) stand

* The Sanscrit *dh* leads us to expect the Greek θ and Gothic *d*

to one another in the relation of descent and I still persist in my assertion already made in my System of Conjugation and in my Review of Grimm's German Grammar (Vocalismus p 72) that in Persian preterites like *bur dem*

I bore *bes tem* I bound *purs i dem* I asked are derived from their corresponding participles which have both an active and a passive signification. While in Sanscrit *bri ta* (nominative masculine *britas*) has merely a passive meaning and only verbs neuter use the forms in *ta* with an active signification * in Persian *bur-deh* means both borne and actively having borne and the perfect is expressed in Persian by using the verb substantive with the participle just mentioned thus *burdeh em* I have borne or literally I am having borne. I consider however the aorist *bur dem* as a contraction of *burdeh em* which need not surprise us as the Persian very generally combines its verb substantive with both substantives and adjectives e g *mer dem* I am a man *buzurg em* I am great. In the third person singular *berd* or *berdeh* stands without the addition of the auxiliary verb as in Sanscrit *bartā laturus* is used in the sense of *laturus a um est* while the first and second persons of the three numbers combine the singular nominative masculine with the verb substantive *bhartasmi* I shall carry &c. If we choose to recognise the verb substantive in the Persian aorist *bur dem* because in the present with the exception of the third person *est* it is so much compressed that it is nowise distinguished from the terminations of other verbs † we must conclude that the simple annexation of the personal terminations to the participle which is robbed of its end

* Comp *gata s* qui vol so *bhi ta-s* 'the having been (masculine)

† Compare *em* I am : thou art, *am* we are *id* ye are *end* they are with *ber em* ('I bear') *beri*, *berim* *berid* *berend*. To *end* corresponds the Doric *ert* for *est* to *em* the English *am* (*-em*)

ing *eh* forms the tense under discussion. This, however, is not my opinion, and it seems to me far more natural to explain *burd'-em* as literally meaning "having borne am I," than to raise *burd* to the rank of a secondary verbal root, and, as such, to invest it with the personal terminations, as they appear in the present

628. The Slavonic languages, with the exception of the Old Slavonic and Servian (see §§ 561 &c), present, in the formation or paraphrasing of the preterite, a remarkable coincidence with the Persian. The participle, which, in Persian, terminates in *deh* or *teh*, and in Sanscrit, in the masculine and neuter theme, in *ta*, in the feminine in *tā*, ends, in Old Slavonic, in the masculine-neuter base in *lo*, in the feminine in *la*, and I consider the *l* of this participial suffix as a weakening of *d*, as, in Latin, *lacryma*, *levir*, from *dacryma*, *deviri* (see § 17), and, in Lithuanian, *lika*, "ten," at the end of compounds, for *dika* (see §. 310 Rem). And I am hence of opinion, that, both with reference to their root and their formation, *byl*, *byla*, *bylo*, "the having been" (masculine, feminine, and neuter), may be compared with the Sanscrit words of the same import, *būta-s*, *būtā*, *būta-m*, and Persian *būdeh*. In Polish, *był* means "he was," *była*, "she was," *było*, "it was," *byli*, *były*, "they were,"* without the addition of an auxiliary verb, or a personal termination and as in general the forms in *l*, *la*, *lo*, *li*, *ly*, do not occur at all as proper participles, but only represent the preterite indicative, they have assumed the complete character of personal terminations† They resemble, therefore, only with the advantage of the distinction of gender like nouns, the Latin *amamini*, *amabimini*, in which words the

* The masculine form *byli* belongs only to the masculine persons to all the other substantives of the three genders belongs the feminine form *były*

† And no notice is taken in Grammars, that, according to the gender alluded to, they are the nominatives of a former participle

language is no longer conscious that they are masculine plural nominatives see § 478 Still more do the above Polish forms resemble the persons of the Sanscrit participial future which uses for all genders the masculine nominatives of the three numbers of a participle corresponding to the Latin in *turus*, so that *bhavita futurus* stands instead of *futurus a um est* and *bhavitaras futuri* instead of *futuri a a sunt* But *był* he was corresponds most exactly to the Persian word of the same meaning *būd* or *būdeh* the having been in the sense of he was In the first person singular masculine *byłem* (*był-em*) answers admirably to the Persian *būdem* which I render in Sanscrit by *bhūtā smi* (euphonic for *bhūtas asmi*) i.e. the man having been am I In the feminine and neuter the Polish *byłam* (*była-m*) corresponds to the Sanscrit *bhūta smi* the woman having been am I and in the neuter *byłom* (*było-m*) to the Sanscrit *bhūtam asmi* the thing having been am I In the second person in the three genders the Polish *byłeś* (*był-eś*) corresponds to the Sanscrit masculine *bhūtā si* (for *bhūtas asi*) *byłaś* (*była-s*) to the Sanscrit feminine *bhūtā si* *byłś* (*było-s*) to the Sanscrit neuter *bhūtam asi* In the plural the masculine *byli-smy* and feminine *były-my** correspond to the Sanscrit feminine and masculine *bhūtās mas*, and so in the second person *byłyście* *byłyście*† to the Sanscrit *bhūtās stha*

Remark 1.—I have no doubt that the syllable *em* of the Polish *był-em* and the simple *m* of the feminine *była-m* and neuter *było-m* belong to the verb substantive which therefore in *była-m* *było-m* and so in the feminine and neuter second person *była-sh* *było-sh* has left merely its

* See p 854 Remark *

† The Polish *e* is like our *æ* and has the same etymological value as *i* for instance in the second person plural the termination *cie* corresponds to the Old Slavonic *ѣте* and in the infinitive the termination *e* to the Old Slavonic *ти* *ти*

personal termination, just as in our contractions, *am*, *zum*, *am*, *beim*, from *in*, *dem*, &c, the article is represented only by its case termination. In the first and second person plural, however, the radical consonant has remained, so that *śmy*, *ście*, are but little different from the Sanscrit *smas*, *stha*, and Latin *sumus* (for *smus*). But if *śmy*, *ście*, be compared with the form exhibited by the Polish verb substantive in its isolated state, some scruple might, perhaps, arise in assenting to the opinion, that *był-em*, 'I (a man) was,' *byłismy*, 'we (men) were,' or the present of the verb substantive is contained in *czytał-em*, 'I read,' *czytaliśmy*, 'we read', for 'I am' is *jestem*, and 'we are,' *jestesmy*. It would, in fact, be a violent mutilation, if we assumed that *był-em*, *byli-śmy*, have proceeded from *był-jestem*, *byli-jestesmy*. I do not, however, believe this to be the case, but maintain that *jestem*, 'I am,' *jestesmy*, 'we are,' *jestes*, 'thou art,' and *jestescie*, 'ye are,' have been developed from the third person singular *jest*. For this *jest** answers to the language nearest akin to our own, the Old Slavonic *jesty*, Russian *est*y, Bohemian *gest* (*g=y*), Karniolan *ye* (where the *st* has been lost), as, to the old sister languages, the Sanscrit *asti*, Greek *ἐστί*, Lithuanian *esti*, and Latin *est*. But *jestem*, *jestesmy*, &c, do not admit of an organic comparison with the corresponding forms of the languages more or less nearly connected. On the other hand, the last portion of *jestesmy*, 'we are,' answers exactly to the Russian *esmy*, and it must be assumed, that the concluding part of *jest-em*, 'I am,' has lost an *s* before the *m*, just as the *m* of *był-em*, 'the having been am I'. It cannot be surprising that the superfluous *jest* is not conjointly introduced in the compound with the participle. At the period of the origin of this periphrastic preterite it did not, perhaps, exist in the

* Regarding the initial *y*, see § 255 *n*

isolated present or the language may still have been conscious of the meaning of the *yest* of *yest em* and that the whole properly expressed it is I *cest moi*. Thus in Irish Gaelic *is me* properly means I am—according to O'Reilly it is I—and *ba me* or *badh me* is literally it was I (*badh* he was = Sanscrit *abhat* see § 573 *ba* he was = *abharat* § 573) and in the future in my opinion the character of the third person regularly enters into the first person and in the verb substantive may also grow up with the theme in such a manner that the terminations of the other persons may attach themselves to it*. Moreover the Irish *fuilm* I am *fuilr* thou art *fuil* he is *fuilmid* we are &c. deserve especial remark. Here in my opinion the third person has again become a theme for the others but the *l* of *fuil* he is appears to me to be a weakening of an original *d* like the Polish *był* he was the difference of the two forms is however that the *l* of the Irish form is a personal termination and that of the Polish a participial suffix and therefore *był em* signifies not it was I as *fuilm* it is I but clearly the person having been am I. But from the procedure of the Irish language this objection arises that the Persian *bud* he was just like the previously mentioned Irish *badh* might be identified with the Sanscrit aorist *abhat* and it might be assumed that this third person has been raised into a theme for the rest and has thus produced *bud m* I was *budi* thou wast &c. like the Irish *fuilm* I am *fuilr* thou art. But this view of the matter is opposed by the circumstance that together with *bud* exists also the full participial form *budh* which serves in some degree as a guide to the understanding of the former form. If

* *Biad* or *beid* I shall be *iadhair* or *buidir* thou wilt be *leill* he will be *bim* or *buid mur* or *beill mid* or *leill maot* we shall be. See my Treatise On the Celtic Languages 1p 14 46

it were wished to regard the *d* of *bard*, 'he bore,' as the sign of the person, the whole would be to be referred to the Sanscrit imperfect *abharat*. But in very many cases objections arise to the referring of the Persian aorist to the Sanscrit imperfect, or first augmented preterite, since the latter has always a common theme with the present, while the Persian *kuned*, 'he makes,' which is based on the Vêda *kṛndli* (from *karnḍli*, with loss of the *r*), does not answer to the theme of *kerd*, 'he made'. On the other hand, this *kerd*, like the participle *kerdah*, admits very easily of being compared with *kṛta-s* (from *karta-s*), 'made'. Just so *bast*, *bastah*, 'he bound,' *bastah*, 'bound,' and 'having bound,' does not answer to the present *bandad*, 'he binds,' but to the Zend passive participle *bastā*, 'bound', for which, in Sanscrit, stands *baddha*, euphonic for *badh-ta*, the *dh* of which, in Zend and Persian, has become *s* (see § 102)."

"Rem 2 In Persian exists, together with *em*, 'I am,' a verb *hastem* of the same signification, which exhibits a surprising resemblance to the Polish *jestem*, as the third person *است hast* does to the Polish *jest*. If it were wished to assume that the third person *است hast* is akin to *است ast*, and has arisen from it by prefixing an *h*, as the *y* of the Polish *jest* and Old Slavonic *jesty*, is only an unorganic addition (see §. 255 *n*), I should then derive the Persian *hastem*, *hastī*, &c., also, just as the Polish *jestem*, *jestes*, from the third person. With regard to the prefixed *h*, we may consider as another instance the term used for the number 'Eight,' *hasht*, contrasted with the forms beginning with a vowel in the kindred languages. It appears to me, however, better to compare *hastam* with the Zend *hstāmi*, 'I stand' (from *sistāmi*), as, so early as the Sanscrit, the root of 'to stand' frequently supplies the place of the verb substantive, as also in the Roman dialect it aids in completing the conjugation of the old verb. Compare, therefore,

GREEK	ZEND	PERSIAN
ἵσταμι *	<i>histami</i>	<i>histam</i>
ἵστας	<i>histahi</i>	<i>histi</i>
ἵσται	<i>histaiti</i>	<i>hist</i>
ἵσταμεν	<i>histamahi</i>	<i>histim</i>
ἵστατε	<i>histotha</i>	<i>histid</i>
ἵσταντι	<i>histanti</i>	<i>histand</i>

Observe that the third person singular *hist* is devoid of the personal sign otherwise we should have in its place *histad* according to the analogy of *barad* he bears *pursad* he asks *dihad* he gives [†] and others With respect to the suppression of the personal terminations the form *hist* resembles our *wird halt* for *wirded hallet* Pott's opinion—who in the derivation of the forms under discussion has likewise referred to the root of to stand (Etym Forsch I 274) but prefers recognising in the *t* of the Polish *yestem* as of the Persian *histam* the *t* of the passive participle—is opposed by the consideration that neither in Sanscrit has the root *as* nor in any other cognate language has the kindred root produced or contained the participle mentioned There is in Sanscrit no participle *asta s* but for it *bhuta s* in Persian no *astah* but *budeh* in Slavonic no *yesl* but *byl* in Lithuanian no *esta s* in Latin no *estus* in Gothic no *ists* Hence there is every reason for assuming that if there ever existed a participle of the

* Sanscrit *tishthami* see § 508

† The *h* of *diham* I give appears to me a remnant of the Zend as pirated *dh* of *d dhami* (§ 39) and as I have already traced back elsewhere the *h* of *nihaden* to place (present *nisham*) to the Sanscrit *dh* and recognised in the syllable *ni* an obscured preposition (the Sanscrit *ni* down Wiener Jahrb 1828 B 4^o p 258) The form *d dham* resembles the Old Slavonic *damy* for *da dmy* (§ 406) and our preterites like *hiefs I elt* (§ 59^o) herein that the reduplicate syllable has gained the semblance of the principal syllable

other roots of 'to be,' analogous to भूत *bhūta*, 'been,' it must have been lost at so early a period, that it could not have rendered any service to the Polish and Persian in the formation of a preterite and present of the indicative "

629. The Bohemian, in its preterites, places the present of the auxiliary verb after the past participle, and separated from it, the Carniolan prefixes it, and the Russian leaves it entirely out, and distinguishes the persons by the pronouns, which are placed before the participle "I was," in Bohemian, is, according to the difference of genders, *byl sem*, *byla sem*, *bylo sem*, in Carniolan, *sim bil*, *sim bila*, *sim bilo*, in Russian, *ya byl*, *ya byla*, *ya bylo* But the present of the Carniolan verb substantive is very remarkable, on account of the almost perfect identity of the three persons of the dual, and of the two first of the plural, with the Sanscrit, where, according to a general law of sound, the forms *svas*, "we two are," *stas*, "ye two are," reject their final *s* before vowels (short *a* excepted), and hereby coincide entirely with the Carniolan, in which *sva* signifies "we two are," *sta*, "they two are" In Sanscrit, *sva iha* means "we two are here," *sta iha*, "they two are here" In the plural, the Carniolan *smo* answers to the Sanscrit स्मस् *smas* (before vowels *smā*), *ste* to स्तस् *stha*, *so* to सन्ति *santi* It is, however, to be observed, that the two languages have, independently of each other, lost the initial vowel, which belongs to the root, which has remained in the Old Slavonic with the prefix of a *y*, excepting in the third person plural (see § 480)

630 If our auxiliary verb *thun* is contrasted, as above (§ 621), with the Sanscrit root *dhā*, "to place," "make," then preterites like the Gothic *sōkida* and our *suchte* appear, in respect to their composition, like cognate forms to the Greek passive and aorists and futures, as, ἐτύφ-θην, τυφ-θήσομαι, in which I recognise the aorist and the future

middle of $\tau\iota\theta\eta\mu\iota$ = Sanscrit *dadhāmi* * The concluding portion of $\tau\upsilon\phi\text{-}\theta\hat{\omega}$ $\tau\upsilon\phi\text{-}\theta\epsilon\iota\eta\nu$ $\tau\upsilon\phi\text{-}\theta\iota\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ is completely identical with the simple $\theta\hat{\omega}$ $\theta\epsilon\iota\eta\nu$ $\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ in conjugation and $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\phi\theta\eta\iota$ is distinguished from $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\iota$ by this only and in fact advantageously that it gives the heavier personal terminations of the dual and plural no power of shortening the vowel of the root which the Sanscrit अधाम् *adhām* = $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\nu$ in its simple state does not, since in this language *adhā ma* answers to the Greek $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ as the Greek $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\nu$ also does not admit of the length of its root being shortened in the dual or plural. Thus the imperative $\tau\upsilon\phi\text{-}\theta\eta\tau\iota$ also is distinguished from $\theta\epsilon\varsigma$ by preserving the length of the root as also by its more full personal termination. From the future $\tau\upsilon\phi\theta\iota\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ should an aorist $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\phi\theta\eta\mu\eta\nu$ be looked for? or *vice versa* should we suppose that the future would be contented with active terminations as well as the aorist? Perhaps originally $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\phi\theta\eta\nu$ and $\tau\upsilon\phi\theta\eta\sigma\omega$ simultaneously existed and thus also $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\phi\text{-}\theta\eta\mu\eta\nu$ (or $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\phi\theta\epsilon\mu\eta\iota$) and $\tau\upsilon\phi\text{-}\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ as periphrastic active and passive tenses. In the present state of the language however the aorist has lost the passive form and the future the active and when the syllable $\theta\eta$ was no longer recognised as an auxiliary verb it received the meaning of a passive character just as our language no longer perceives an auxiliary verb in the *te* of *suchte* but only an expression for the past or as we have ceased to recognise in the *te* of *heute* the word *tag* and in *heu* (Old High German *hiu*) a demonstrative but regard the whole as a simple adverb formed to express the present day.

631 As to the form of the Greek second aorist and future passive I consider $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\pi\eta\nu$ and $\tau\upsilon\pi\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ as abbreviations of $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\phi\theta\eta\iota$ $\tau\upsilon\phi\theta\iota\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$. The loss of the θ resembles therefore that of the σ in the active aorists of verbs with liquids

* Compare Jahrb. for Lat. Cist. 1877 Feb. pp. 285, &c. Vocalismus pp. 53 &c. and Pott's Etym. Forsch. I 187

(§ 517) it need not, however, surprise us, that, as the ϕ of $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\phi\theta\eta\nu$, from regard to the θ following, assumes the place of the radical π , after this θ is dropped the original sound again makes its appearance, and therefore $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\phi\theta\eta\nu$, $\tau\upsilon\phi\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, are not used. The case is similar to that of our vowel *Ruck-umlaut*, (restored derivative sound), since we use the form *kraft* as corresponding to the Middle High German genitive and dative *krefte*, because, after the dissolution of the vowel which had generated the *umlaut*, the original vowel also recurs, while we, in the plural, say *krafte*, like the Middle High German *krefte*. Various objections oppose the opinion that the verb substantive is contained in $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\pi\eta\nu$, much as the appended auxiliary verb agrees in its conjugation with that of $\hat{\eta}\nu$. But the double expression of past time in $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\pi\eta\nu$, once in the principal verb and once in the auxiliary, if the verb substantive be contained in it, cannot fail of surprising us, while the Sanscrit, in combining its *āsam*, "I was," with attributive verbs, withdraws the augment, and, with it, also the radical vowel *a* of the auxiliary verb (§ 512). Still more objectionable must appear the augment in the future $\tau\upsilon\pi\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, and in the imperative $\tau\upsilon\pi\eta\theta\iota$. Why not $\tau\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\tau\upsilon\pi\iota\sigma\theta\iota$, or, perhaps, the σ being dislodged, $\tau\upsilon\pi\iota\theta\iota$, and, in the third person, $\tau\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\omega$ or $\tau\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega$? The termination *cis* in the participle $\tau\upsilon\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ has no hold whatever in the conjugation of the verb substantive.

632 The Latin *uendo*, if we do not refer the auxiliary verb contained in it to *do* = $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota$, $\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{i}$ *dadāmī*, but to $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota$, $\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{i}$ *dadhāmī*, must be regarded as a cognate form to the German formations like *sōkida*, *sōkidedum*, "I sought," "we sought," and the Greek like $\epsilon\tau\upsilon\phi\theta\eta\nu$, $\tau\upsilon\phi\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$. The Sanscrit *dā*, "to give," and *dhd*, "to place," are distinguished only by the aspiration of the latter, and in Zend these verbs are scarce to be distinguished at all from one another, because *d*, according to § 39, in the inner sound frequently becomes *dh*, but *dh* even lays aside the aspiration in the initial sound. In Latin, also, $\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{a}$ *dā* and $\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{a}$ *dhā* might easily be combined in

one form since that language generally presents its *d* as answering to the Sanscrit *dh* and Greek *θ* especially in the initial sound as *h* to the Sanscrit *hh* * But the circumstance that the root *vidhā* *Oil* in Latin has no *h* remained in its simple form does not prevent us from recognising it in the compounds *credo perdo abdo condo* and *tenet*, just as in *presumo presumo*† The form *tenet* answers in respect to the accretive form of the primary word to Sanscrit compounds like *te m-chak* *ira* (§§ 619, 620)

637 In order to trace out in its full extent the influence that the Sanscrit root *bhū* has obtained in the European cognate languages in the formation of grammatical forms I must further remark that I believe I may here refer also the last portion of the future and imperative of the Slavonic verb substantive. In Old Slavonic *bu bŭ* means "I will be" literally, as it appears to me "I make to be." The first portion of this compound answers very well to the Sanscrit root *bhū* and is identical with the Zend *bu*. As I observe the Slavonic *u* usually answers to the Sanscrit diphthong *ai* (= *a + u* see § 222 *f*) so must we in the Slavonic *bu* recognize the Sanscrit Guṇa form *bhū*. And *u bhū* itself receives Guṇa in the future and exhibits here in combination with the other root of "to be" the form *bhūi* *ai bhūi* of

§ 10, and coming to rest with the S. wheel by $m + 1$ ft. with m ft. as upland standard. f ft. with $\pi = \pi$.

† A W. von Schlegel has been the first to recognise in Latin the Sanscrit *rat* belief and has found in *credo* a similar compound, that of the Sanscrit *ara* *lādhant* which signifies the same (lit. rally I place faith) without however identifying the Latin expression also in regard to its concluding portion with the Sanscrit compound (Hitzig and Curtz 1861). *Crelo* *mi* *hi* certainly also mean "I give faith" but it is more natural to place this verbal in its second and in its first portion on the same footing with its Indian prototype, as I have already done in the Vienna Jahrbuch (1863, B. 4., p. 20), where I have also compared the *c'* of *a lo* and *co* *lo* with the Sanscrit root *dhā*.

which we shall treat hereafter. The second portion of the Old Slavonic *бѣдѣ* *bū-dŭ* (from *bū-do-m*, see § 255 *g*) corresponds in its conjugation exactly to the present *вѣдѣ*,^{*} this second person *bū-desŭ*, third, *būdy*; only the *e* and *o* of *вѣдѣ* *veǰ-e-shŭ*, *вѣдѣ* *veǰ-e-ty*, *вѣдѣ* *veǰ-o-m*, &c., is the class vowel, or vowel of conjunction, while that of *de-shŭ*, *de-ty*, *do-m*, is the abbreviation of the *i* of the Sanscrit root *dhā*, for *e* and *o* are the usual representatives, in Old Slavonic, of the Sanscrit short *a* (see § 255 *a*). We must here direct attention to the Sanscrit root *stha*, the *a* of which is irregularly shortened as though it were the conjunctive vowel of the first class (§ 508). Hence, also, in the imperative the Old Slavonic *бѣ* of *бѣдѣ* *bū-dye-m*, "we should be" ("should make to be"), *бѣте* *bū-dye-te*, "be ye," to the Sanscrit *i* of *tishthē-ma*, "we may stand," *tishthē-ta*, "ye may stand" (§ 255 *e*).

631 There is, in Old Slavonic and Russian, also a verb which occurs in an isolated state, which signifies "to do," "to make," and which is distinguished from that which is contained in *bū-dŭ* only by the circumstance that it exhibits *dy* instead of *de* as root, which does not prevent me from declaring it to be originally identical with it. Its present is *бѣдѣ* *dyeŭi*,† and it is rightly compared by Kopitar with our *thun* and the English *do*. From it comes the neuter substantive *dyeŭo*, "deed," as thing done, which, in its formation, answers to the participles mentioned above (§ 628), and has, in advantageous contrast with them, preserved the original passive meaning, while they have erroneously been assigned to the active voice.

* See § 507 where, however, in the first person plural, we should read *veǰ-o-m* instead of *veǰ-o-mŭ*.

† Analogous with *sye-yŭ*, "I sow"; as, in Gothic, *dē-ths*, "deed," and *se-ths*, "seed," rest on a like formation, and roots which terminate similarly.

615 Analogous with *budu* I shall be is the Old Slavonic *idu* I go which is placed by Dobrowsky also (p 350) in the same class with *budi* *Idu* therefore means literally I make to go and springs from the widely-diffused root *i* (infinitive *iti*) whence in Gothic the anomalous *i dilya* I went plural *i ddyedum* we went I believe that these forms have proceeded from *i du* *i dedum* simply by doubling the *d* and annexing an *i* and I regard them therefore in the sense of I made to go we made to go and I compare with them the Slavonic *i du* as present The *d* of *shedu* however which is used in completing the conjugation of *idu* I consider as belonging to the root and look upon the whole as akin to the Sanscrit ऋ sad to go to which belong also *choditi* and the Greek ὀδος The forms $\omega\tau\iota\delta\alpha\omega$ *o dyeshdu* I put on dress *na dyesh dusya* I hope *za dyeshdu* *angario onus impono* which Dobrowsky likewise compares with *budu* remarking that they stand for *adyeyû* &c I consider as reduplicate forms of the root *dye* to make mentioned above for *d* gladly assumes and under certain circumstances regularly the prefix of *i sh* for which reason *dashdy* give and *yasahdy* eat (for *dady yady*) correspond to the Sanscrit *dadyâs* thou mayest give *adyâs* thou mayest eat (see Kopitar's *Glossolita* pp 53 and 63) The conjecture however that *o dyeshdu* *na-dyeshdu* *za dyeshdu* are reduplicate forms is strongly supported by the circumstance that the corresponding Sanscrit and Greek verbs also (*dadhâmi* $\tau\iota\theta\eta\mu\iota$) are reduplicated in the special tenses as *dadhâmi* $\delta\iota\delta\omega\mu\iota$ and to the two last forms a reduplicate verb corresponds in Slavonic likewise (see § 436)

636 The Lettish possesses some verbs which are combined throughout their whole conjugation with the auxiliary verb under discussion Of this class is *dim deh t* to ring (*deht* = *dê-t*) together with *dum t id* *nau deh t* to move

with *nan-t*, id In *bar-deh-t*, "to make afraid," with *bé-t*, "to fear" (Sanskrit भि *bhī*), *fskum-deh-t*, "to disturb," i. e. "to make mournful," with *fskum-t*, "to be mournful," the meaning of the auxiliary verb makes itself clearly perceptible, and replaces the causal formation. In other cases the appended *déh-t* may be rendered by *thun* (compare Pott I. 187). Regarding the Lithuanian imperfect of custom, in which we have recognised the same auxiliary verb, see § 525.

637. It deserves to be noticed, that, in Zend also, the verb under discussion of "placing," "making," "doing," occurs as an appended auxiliary verb. Thus, *yaōsh-dā*, "to purify," literally "to make purify," from which the present middle *yaōsh-dathēntē*, "they make to purify" (regarding the extended form *dath*, see p. 112), the precativ middle *paūri-yaōsh-dathnta*, "they may purify" (Vend S p. 266), the imperative *yaōsh-dathām*, "let me make to purify" (l c p. 500). The form *dānti* of *yaōsh-dānti*, "the purification" (l c pp. 300, 301), corresponds, in radical and derivative suffix, to the abovementioned Gothic *dēlths* (theme *dēdi*). For the frequent expression *yaōsh-dayann anhēn*, "they are purified," we ought perhaps to read *yaōshdayanm anhēn*, in which case the former might be regarded as the locative of *yaōshdā*, so that the whole would signify "they are in purification"*. But if

* I formerly thought, that in this and similar expressions the root *dā*, "to give," was contained (Gramm Crit p. 322), which might very well be the case, and is also Burnouf's opinion, who, however, assents, at Yaçna, p. 356, Rem. 217, to F. Windischmann's explanation, who was the first to recognise in this and similar compounds the Sanscrit root *dhā* instead of *dā*. To the remark made by Burnouf (l c Note E p. xi), that the initial sound *dh* in Zend is not permissible, it may be added, that in the middle also, after a consonant, *d* is necessarily used for the original *dh*; hence, the Sanscrit imperative termination *dhī*, which in Zend, after vowels, appears as *dhi*, is, after a consonant, *di* thus *das-di*, "give," opposed to *sī ūi-dhi*, "hear," *kīričnūi-dhi*, "make."

icipate in lengthening the *a*, which, in Sanscrit, before simple consonants enters at will into the first person singular, and of necessity into the third person, is proved also by the form *तलसा* *talasa*, "he formed" (see Burnouf, *Yajna*, p 104), the root of which is referred by Burnouf, and with justice, to the Sanscrit *तक्ष* *taksh*, and, as it appears to me, fitly compared with the Greek *τάσσω*

639 The passage of the Vend S. (p 3), which has furnished us with the form *तलसा* *talasa* (in the lithographed Codex erroneously *talas*), supplies us also with two other reduplicate preterites, which have, too, (and this deserves notice,) a perfect meaning, while the corresponding Sanscrit tense refuses the function of a perfect (§ 513) We read 1 c *यô nô dadha yô tatasa yô tuthruyê*, "who has made (us), who has formed (us), who has sustained (us)." The form *ददधा* *dadha*, which Neiroseugh renders by *ददौ* *dadâu*, "*dedit*," instead of *dadhâu*,* is, in my opinion, of special importance, on account of the remarkable manner in which it coincides in root and formation with the abovementioned (§ 622) Old Saxon *deda*, "I did," "he did" The Zend *dadha* stands for *dadhâ* from *dadhâ-a* (§ 618), the long *â* having been shortened, as commonly happens at the end of polysyllabic words (§ 137) It does not admit of doubt that the first person is likewise *dadha*, as we have seen from the abovementioned *ववच्चा* *vavacha*, "I spoke," that in Zend, as in Sanscrit and German, it is the same as the third person, i e it has a personal termination as little as the latter In the second person I conjecture the form *dadhâtha* (§ 453)

* The root *dâ*, "to give," might likewise form *dadha* (§ 39), but in the passage above, as everywhere where mention is made of creating, making, it is clear we must understand the verb corresponding to the Sanscrit *धा* *dhâ*, "to place" (with *८८*, "to make")

640 I am unable to quote the Zend perfect active in the dual and plural unless the form *𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬵𐬀* *aonhēnti* which has been already mentioned elsewhere* is the plural of *𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀* *fu* which latter regularly corresponds to the Sanscrit *āsa* (§ 56 and 56^b) and occurs in the following passage of the Vend S (p 401) *𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀* *nōit aotem aonha nōit gharemem* there was neither cold nor heat We find the form *aonhēnti* l c p 45 where are the words *𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀* *haomo talchit yoi katayo nasko frasaonho aonhēnti spānō mastimcha bacsanti* Hom assigns to those whoever recite the Nasks excellence and grandeur † Perhaps too *aonhēnti* if it really is a perfect is more correctly translated by have been but we cannot be surprised at its having a present meaning also as a real present is not intended according to what has been remarked in § 520 We must not attach too great weight to the circumstance that in Neriosengh's Sanscrit translation the form *aonhēnti* is rendered by *𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀* *nishidanti sedent* ‡ for Neriosengh interchanges with one another the roots *dā* to give and *dā* to set place make which belongs to the Sanscrit *dhā* and why should he not have fallen

* Jahrb für Wiss Crit Decr 1831 p 810

† Anquetil who seldom renders all the forms in a sentence according to their real grammatical value here makes the third person plural the second of the imperative and changes the assertion into a request by translating thus *O Hom accordez l excellence et la grandeur a celui qui lit dans la maison les Naks*!

‡ See Burnouf's valuable Review of the First Part of this Book Journal des Savans 1833 in the separate impression p 47 There is an error in it however in the remark that I have represented the form *onhēnti* as the imperative of the verb substantive I meant the reduplicate preterite or perfect

into a similar error with the roots 𐬀𐬀𐬎 *as*, "to be," and 𐬀𐬀𐬎 *ās*, "to sit," which both exist in Zend, particularly as the form *āonhēnti*, taken as the perfect, stands, perhaps, quite isolated in the remains of Zend literature which have been preserved to us, but, as the present, has numerous analogous forms? But if *āonhēnti* really belongs to the root 𐬀𐬀𐬎 *ās*, "to sit," then we cannot, in my opinion, take it, with Nerosengh, in this sense, but as representing the verb substantive, which, as has been shewn (§ 509), occasionally, in Sanscrit also, supplies the place of the verb substantive. Two of the Paris MSS give, as has been remarked by Burnouf, for *āonhēnti* the middle form 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬎 *āonhēntē*, and if this is the correct reading, it speaks in favour of the root of "to sit", for this, like the kindred Greek verb ($\eta(\sigma)\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$, $\eta\sigma\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$), is used only in the middle. But if *āonhēnti* is the right reading, and belongs, as perfect, to the verb substantive, it is, in respect to its termination, more ancient than the Sanscrit *āsus* (§ 462)

641 In the middle we find as the third person plural of the verb substantive the form 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬎 *āonharē* (Vend S p 222), with which, in regard to termination, the form 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬎 *vīritharē*, "they are dead," agrees (Vend S p 179). If the reading of the two mutually corroborative forms is correct, we then have the termination *arē* for the Sanscrit *vrē*, and it would be a circumstance of much importance that the Zend should have left the old conjunctive vowel *a* in its original form, in a position where, in Sanscrit, it has been weakened to *i*. The final *ē* of the Sanscrit termination is suppressed in Zend, but as *r* cannot stand (§ 44) at the end of a word, the addition of an *ē* became necessary, as in vocatives like 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬎 *dātarē*, "creator," answering to the Sanscrit 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬎 *dhātar*. If the *ē* of the forms 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬎 *āonharē*, 𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬎 *vīritharē*, was an error in writing, for which *ē* ought to stand, then an *i*

would necessarily stand beside the *a* of the preceding syllable. But as this is not the case we find some evidence of the correctness of the final *e* at least for the fact, that this form among others is admissible for beside the $\xi\lambda\omega\gamma\xi\omega$ *donhare* which has been mentioned we find in another passage of the Vend S (p 15) the form $\delta\lambda\omega\gamma\xi\omega$ *donhairi* in which the final *i* according to § 11 has introduced an *i* also in the syllable preceding. The form *donhairi* for which perhaps one or two MSS may read *donhaire* assures us however in like manner of the proposition which is of most importance viz that the conjunctive vowel is properly an *a* and not as in Sanscrit an *i*.

642 The form $\xi\lambda\omega\gamma\delta\lambda\omega$ *iririthare* is remarkable also with regard to its syllable of reduplication it springs from the root $\delta\lambda\omega$ *irith* * from which a verb of the fourth class frequently occurs in *iririth* therefore *ir* is the syllable of reduplication after which the short initial *i* has been lengthened in order as it were to gain strength for bearing the reduplication (compare the Gothic in § 389) In *iririthare* however the countertype of the Greek forms with Attic reduplication is easily recognised. We must not however seek for the reason of this lengthening of the vowel of the second syllable of forms like $\epsilon\lambda\eta\lambda\upsilon\theta\alpha$ $\epsilon\mu\eta\mu\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ $\upsilon\rho\omega\rho\upsilon\chi\alpha$ in the temporal augment which I also avoid doing. For though by concretion with the augment an *e* might become η an *o* become ω this gives no reason for supposing the augment to exist everywhere where an initial vowel of a

* Probably a secondary root with the addition of a *th*, as in *dath* for *da* (see p 112) *Ir th* therefore might stand for *murith* the initial *m* having been lost and might be connected with the Sanscrit root *mri* (*mar*) whence as Burnouf has shown in his frequently mentioned Review (p 37) has arisen the form *mērench* 'kill with another affix from which occurs the noun agent in the plural *mēr etarō* the murders

verb is lengthened I content myself, in forms like ἐλήλυθα, with the reduplication, and in the vowel following I find only a phonetic lengthening for the sake of the rhythm, or to support the weight of the syllable of reduplication, as in the Zend *irihith*, or as (to keep to Greek) in ἀγωγός, ἀγωγός, ἀγωγή, in which the ω, as is commonly the case, is only the representative of the long α (§ 4), and where there is no ground for searching for the augment. In general it would be unnatural that the augment, being an element foreign to the root, should interpose itself in the middle of the word between the syllable of reduplication and the proper root, and unless a necessity exists, one must not suppose the existence of such a phenomenon in a language.

643 In a passage of the Iveshne (Vend S p 65), which I understand too little to ground on it, with confidence, any inference, while I am without the light which might perhaps be thrown on it by Neriosengh's Sanscrit translation, I find the expressions ममन्यु ममनित् mainyû mamanîtê. It does not, however, admit of any doubt that *mainyû* is the nominative dual of the base *mainyu*, "spirit" (see § 210), and hence, even without understanding the whole meaning of the passage alluded to, it appears to me in the highest degree probable, that *mamanîtê* is the third person dual of the perfect. Perhaps we ought to read *mamanâûtê*, so that, through the influence of the final ê, the Sanscrit termination *âtê* would have become *âtê*. But if the reading *mamanîtê* is correct, and the form is really a perfect, an original â would have been weakened to i. The whole form would, however, in my opinion, be of great importance, because it might furnish ground for the inference, that the contraction of the reduplication, in Sanscrit forms like *mênâtê* (from *mam-nâtê* for *mamanâtê*), did not exist before the Zend became separate from the Sanscrit (compare § 606)

PLUPERFECT

641 It has been already remarked (§ 511) that the Sanscrit possesses no pluperfect and the substitute it uses for it has been noticed. The Zend also is undoubtedly deficient in this tense. In the Zend Avesta however no occasion occurs for making use of it or supplying its place in another way. The Latin pluperfect is easily perceived to be a form compounded of the perfect base with the imperfect of the verb substantive. The only point which can admit of doubt is whether the whole *eram* is to be considered as existing in *fueram amaveram* as I have done in my System of Conjugation (p 93) so that the perfect base to which the *i* of *fui fui sis* &c belongs would have lost its vowel or whether we should assume the loss of the *e* of *eram* and therefore divide thus *fue-ram amave ram*. Now contrary to my former opinion I believe the latter to be the case and I deduce *fueram* from *fui ram* through the frequently mentioned tendency of the *i* to be corrupted before *r* to *e* whence the conjunctive vowel *i* of the third conjugation appears in the second person of the passive as also in the imperfect subjunctive and in the infinitive as *e* (*leg-e-ris* opposed to *leg-i-tur leg-i-mur*). For this reason *fue-ram* also is opposed to the subjunctive *fui-rem* in which as *r* does not follow the *i* that letter remains in its original form. It would seem much more difficult to discover a reason why *fu-erem* should have become *fu-issem* than why *fui ram* should become *fue-ram*. In general in Latin there exists without reference to a following *r* many an *e* which has arisen from an older *i*. I am not acquainted however with any *i* used for an older *e* as in general the *e* is an unorganic and comparatively more recent vowel but the *i* is as old as the language itself for though *i* as well as *u* has very frequently arisen from the weakening of the

most weighty vowel *a*, still no epoch of the language can be imagined when there existed no vowel but *a*. If, however, the auxiliary verb in *fue-ram fui-ssem*, has lost its vowel, it shares in this respect the same fate as the Sanscrit *sam* and Greek *σα* contained in the aorist. Where the verb substantive enters into composition with attributive verbs, sufficient reason exists for its mutilation.

645 As the Greek pluperfect is formed from the base of the perfect, as the imperfect is from that of the present, by prefixing the augment, by which the completion of the action is in this sense transferred to past time, we should expect in it the terminations *ον, ες, ε, &c*, thus, *ἐτέτυπον*, which would come very near the Sanscrit imperfect of the intensive *atōtāpam*. But whence is the termination *ειν* of *ἐτετύφειν*? Landvoigt and Pott recognise in it the imperfect of the verb substantive, so that *ἐτετύφειν* would stand for *ἐτετύφην*. There would, therefore, be a pleonasm in this form, as *ἐτετυφ* already of itself combines the idea of the imperfect with that of the perfect. If, then, the verb substantive be added, it must serve merely as the copula, and not itself express a relation of time, and therefore lays aside the augment, as the Sanscrit *āsam* in aorists like *akshāp-sam*. But it being premised that the verb substantive is contained in *ἐτετύφειν*, it is not requisite to derive its *ει* from the *η* of *ἦν*. Advert to the analogy of *ειν* with *εἰμί*, which latter would become *εῖν*, if its primary personal termination were replaced by the more obtuse secondary one. It may be said that the radical *σ* is contained in the *ι* of *εἰ-μί*, which sibilant, having first become, by assimilation, *μ* (Doric *ἐμμί*), has then, as often happens to *ν* (as *τιθείς* for *τίθενς*), been vocalized to *ι*. The analogy of *εἰμί* is followed in the compound form (if *ἐτετύφειν* is really compounded as has been stated) by the dual and plural, thus, *ἐτετύφουμεν* for the more cumbrous *ἐτετύφεσμεν*. Here let the Ionic form *εἰμέν* for *ἐσμέν* be noticed. In the third person plural *ἐτετύφεσαν* (unorganic

ετετυφεισαν) the composition with the auxiliary verb is evident but this person cannot be adduced as evidence for the composition of the other persons since in general a kind of privilege is accorded to the third person plural active in respect to the appending of the verb substantive which also extends to the imperfect and aorist of the conjugation in μι (ἐδίδοσα : ἔδοσαν opposed to ἐδίδομεν ἔδομεν) and in like manner in the Latin perfects (*fuerunt* from *fuesunt*) But if the syllable *ει* of *ετετυφει* : is identical with the *ει* of *ειμι* still I am not shaken by this in my opinion that the *κ* of *ἐλελυκα* and the aspiration of *τετυφα* belong to the consonant of the auxiliary root and that the *κ* is an intensification of the *σ* the aspiration a weakening of the *κ* (§ 569) that therefore in *ἐλελυκεν ετετυφει* the verb substantive is twice continued as is the case in Sanscrit forms like *ayāsiṣham* (§ 570) I believe however that at the time when the forms *ἐλελυκειν ετετυφειν* developed themselves from the to be presupposed forms *ετετυφον ἐλελυκοι* the remembrance of the origin of the *κ* and of the aspiration had been long lost and that these forms were generated by the necessity for restoring the missing verb substantive just as in Old Saxon the form *sind-un* they are ^κ may first have arisen when in the more simple and likewise employable *sind* the expression of the relation of time and person was no longer perceivable and hence another personal termination and in fact that of the preterite was annexed † The Greek medio passive has admitted neither the first nor the second annexation of the verb substantive from *ἐλελυκειν* we might expect *ἐλελυκειμη* but *ἐλελυμην* has arisen

* At the same time with unorganic transfer to the first and second person *we sind thir sind*

† With the preterite coincide also the forms of recent origin *sij u i i* we are " *sij u th* ye are and *sind* they are (from *sant*) is alone a transmission from the period of the unity of language

directly from the reduplicate root, by prefixing the augment, and descends from a period when the active was not as yet ἐλελύκειν, but probably ἐλελυν.

THE FUTURE.

646 The Sanscrit has two tenses to express the future, of which one, which is more rarely employed, consists of the combination of a future participle with the present of the verb substantive, the root *as*, in such a manner, however, that (and this has been already noticed as remarkable) the masculine nominative of the three numbers of the participle has assumed the complete nature of a third person of a verb, and thus *per se* without annexation of the verb substantive, and without regard to the gender of the subject, *e g* εἰσι *dâtâ*, “*daturus*,” is used in the sense of “he, she, or it will give,” and thus εἰσιεῖ *dâtâras*, “*daturi*,” in the sense of “they will give.” Observe here what has been said above of the Latin *amamini* instead of *amamini*, -æ, -a, *estis* (§. 478), and remark also the third person of the Polish and Persian preterite (§ 628) In the other persons the Sanscrit combines the masculine nominative singular of the participle mentioned with the said person of the present of the auxiliary verb, thus, *dâtâsi* (from *dâtâ-si*)=*daturus*, *datura*, *daturum est* I annex the full conjugation of the two active forms of the adduced example, with the remark, that in the third person no difference can exist between the active and middle, since the participle which is employed makes no distinction between the two forms

SINGULAR		DUAL	
ACTIVE	MEDIAL	ACTIVE	MEDIAL
<i>dâtâsmi</i> ,	<i>dâtâhé</i>	<i>dâtâsvas</i> ,	<i>dâtâsvahé</i>
<i>dâtâsi</i> ,	<i>dâtâsé</i>	<i>dâtâsthas</i> ,	<i>dâtâsâthé</i>
<i>dâtâ</i> ,	<i>dâtâ</i>	<i>dâtârâu</i> ,	<i>dâtârâu</i>

PLURAL.

ACTIVE	MEDIAL
<i>dātāsmas</i>	<i>dātāsmahē</i>
<i>dātāstha</i>	<i>dātādhrē</i>
<i>dātāras</i>	<i>dātāras</i>

Remark—It is very surprising that although the compound nature of this tense is so distinctly evident, none of the grammarians my predecessors have remarked it and the first mention of it that has been made was in my System of Conjugation where it was noticed without meeting with any opposition from the strongest opponents of my System of Agglutination. As regards the first person singular middle it must be remarked that the root *s* in this person changes its *s* into *h* although in Sanscrit this exchange is to be met with nowhere else but it occurs frequently in Prakrit and before *m* and *n* regularly takes place in the middle of a word where *mh* *nh* are commonly used by transposition for *hm* *hn*, hence *amhi* or *mhi* (resting on a preceding vowel) I am (see Lassen p 267 &c Hofer p 77). As the Sanscrit *h* (= *gh* not *ch*) is usually represented in Greek by χ sometimes also by γ and even by κ * in *dātāhē* therefore may be found a confirmation of the opinion expressed in § 569 that the κ of forms like $\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\alpha$ $\delta\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\alpha$ belongs to the verb substantive as a thickening of the σ .

647 In the third person singular also the verb substantive sometimes occurs combined with the participle as *vakātsi* he will speak for *vakā*† on the other hand we occasionally find in the other persons also the verb substantive omitted and the person expressed by a separate

* Compare $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\varsigma$ $\kappa\iota\varphi$ $\rho\delta$ with *aham mahat hrid, hrītiya*

† See my collection of the Episodes of the Mahabharata (Draupadi III 2) published under the title of *Diluvium*

pronoun*, as is done in Russian in the preterite (see § 629) Sometimes the participle is separated from the auxiliary verb belonging to it by one or more words, as, *karṭā tad asmi tē*, “*facturus hoc sum tibi*” (Mahābh) I do not, however, think that such departures from the usual practice of the language could occur where the subject was not a masculine singular, at least it is probable, if *karṭā* referred to a feminine, that *kartrī* would be used instead of it Except in these constructions, however, formations in *tār* (in the weak cases *ti*, § 144) very seldom occur as future participles,† but their usual function is that of a noun agent, like the corresponding forms in Greek and Latin in *τηρ, τωρ, tōr*, as, *δοτηρ, dator, datōr-is*, answer to the Sanscrit *dātār* (दातृ *dātṛi*, nominative *dātā*, § 144) The Latin, however, as has been already observed (§ 576), formed from the shorter form in *tōr* a longer one in *tūru*, and has allotted to this exclusively the functions of the future participle In Zend, the formations in *tār*, in my opinion, occur only as nouns of agency, as, *dātār*, “creator” (=Sanskrit *dhātār*) nominative दाता *dāta* (see § 144), accusative दातारēm *dātārēm*, vocative दातारē *dātārē* (§ 44) To this class belong in Slavonic the formations in *tely* (theme *telyo*, § 259), the *r* being exchanged for *l*, and the syllable *yo* added, as, *dyetely*, “factor,” corresponds to the just-mentioned Zend *dātār* and Sanscrit *dhātār* (compare § 634) This *dyetely*, however, does not occur in its simple form, but only in combination with the preposition *s*, and with *dobro*, “good,” *s-dyety*, “conditor,” *dobro-dyety*, “benefactor.” For other

* Compare l c p 114, Sl 31, *bhavitū 'ntas tvam* for *bhavitāsy antus*, “thou wilt be the end”

† An example occurs in the Raghu-Vansa, VI 52, by Stenzlei, *nripan tam vyatyagād anyavadhū bhavitṛi*, “*regem illum praterit alius viro futura*”

examples in *tely* see § 239* From the Gothic we may here adduce the word *blōs treis* (theme *blōs trya*) which is quite isolated in its formation and is connected with *blōtan* to honor the *t* of which according to § 102 has passed into *s* before the *t* of the suffix With respect to the Sanscrit suffix *tār* (*tri*) it remains to be remarked that in vowels capable of Gunā it requires Gunā and that it is not always united with the root direct but frequently by a conjunctive vowel *i* in the latter respect *jan i tā jan i tāram* correspond to the Latin *gen i tor gen i torem* while *paktā paktāram* answer to *coctor, coctōrem*

648 In my Sanscrit Grammar I term the future tense just considered and which is peculiar to the Sanscrit the participial future in accordance with its formation to distinguish it from that which belongs to the Sanscrit in common with the Zend Greek Lithuanian and Latin and which I call the auxiliary future because in its character *स्य sya* I recognise the obsolete future of the root *as* to be I imagine therefore that in *dā syati* he will give only the syllable *ya* expresses the future but that the *s* is the root of the verb to be with loss of its vowel which is not surprising as even when uncompounded the *a* of the root *as* is frequently lost (§ 150) The final part of *dā syāmi* resembles very closely the potential *syān*

I may be which actually exists in isolated use Compare—

* With regard to the formations in *ary* mentioned at § 230 it is requisite to observe that the preceding *t* does not belong to the suffix under discussion but to the primary word *ḥatary* 'goldsmith' (in Russian also *ḥolotarj*) comes from *ḥoto*, 'gold' and *bratary* 'porter' from *brata* 'door' *Mytary* 'toll gatherer', is related in its primary word which does not appear to occur with our *mauth* compare the Gothic *mētareis* (theme *mēturya*) 'toll gatherer' *mota mautl toll*

SINGULAR		DUAL		PLURAL	
FUTURE	POTEN	FUTURE	POTEN	FUTURE	POTEN
<i>syāmi,</i>	<i>syām</i>	<i>syāvas,</i>	<i>syāva</i>	<i>syāmas,</i>	<i>syāma</i>
<i>syasi,</i>	<i>syās</i>	<i>syathas,</i>	<i>syātām</i>	<i>syatha,</i>	<i>syāta</i>
<i>syati,</i>	<i>syāt</i>	<i>syatas,</i>	<i>syātām,</i>	<i>syanti,</i>	<i>syus</i>

- 649 We see that the principal difference of the forms here compared is, that the potential has a long *ā* pervading it, but the future a short *a*, which, according to the principle of the class syllables of the first conjugation (§ 434), is lengthened before *m* and *v* of the first person. And besides this, the future has the full primary terminations, but the potential has the more obtuse secondary endings, with that of *us* in the third person plural, which occurs occasionally also in the imperfect.

650 The Latin has this great superiority over the Sanscrit, that its *ero, eris, &c.* has been preserved in isolated use, and in fact retaining the initial vowel of the root, in which respect *eris, erit, &c.* (from *esis, esit*, § 22), is as advantageously distinguished from *syasi, syati*, as *es-tis* from *stha*, or as, in Greek, *ἐσμός* from *smas*, *ἐστόν* from *sthas, stas* (§ 480.)

651 The *i* of *eris, erit, &c.* I have already, in my System of Conjugation, represented (p 91) as a contraction of the true future character *ya*, and I have since been supported in this opinion by the Prakrit, where, for the Sanscrit *syā* or *syā*, we occasionally find *hi*, for instance, in the first person, *himi* for *syāmi*, and in the second person *hisi* for *syasi* (Latin *eris*). Some examples have been already given above (p 401 Rem)*. It may be further remarked, that the Sanscrit, also, sometimes abbreviates the syllable *ya*, as also *va* and *ia*, by suppressing the vowel and changing the semi-vowel into its con-

* Compare Hofei "De Prakṛi Dial" p 199

sponding vowel (see p 759) and moreover (which in the case before us is still more important to observe with regard to the formal connection of the future and potential) the syllable *ya* of the mood just mentioned is contracted in the middle to *i* by which *syāt* he may be becomes in the middle *sita*

652 The Lithuanian has likewise contracted the future character *ya* to *i* in the persons most correctly preserved thus the *sine site* of *du si me du si te* (*dabimus dabitis*) *eri-mus eri-tis* and the whole word to the Sanscrit *dā syāt mas dā sya tha* and in the dual *du v-ira dū si tu* correspond to the Sanscrit *dā syā-vat dā sya thus* But in its simple state *si* has been no more retained in Lithuanian than *sya* has in Sanscrit but the verb substantive in the future in the two cognate idioms combines the two roots of to be with one another hence in Lithuanian *bu si-ta bu si-me bu si-te* answering to the Sanscrit *bhav i shyā vas bhav i shyā tha bhav-i shyā mas bhav i shyā tha* which are furnished with Guna and a conjunctive vowel *i* Compare in regard to the combination of the two roots of to be the Latin *fue-runt* for which a simple *fui-nt* might be expected or (which is here more in point) the future perfect *fue-ro* which I distribute not into *fui-ero* but into *fue-ro* for *fui-ro* (compare § 611)

653 In the singular the Lithuanian has almost entirely lost the future character *i* and only the *s* of the auxiliary verb has remained at least I believe that in the second person *du si* thou wilt give the personal termination which in the second person singular terminates in all tenses in *i* has more claim to the *i* than the expression of the future has In the third person *du s* stands for all numbers (§ 457), and to the form *bu s* of the verb substantive corresponds remarkably a word *bhus* in Irish of the same signification but which is quite isolated (see O'Reilly's Lex s v *bhus*) The Sanscrit *bhav i shyāti* and

Zend *bū-syēti*, however, form the medium between the Lithuanian *būs* and Irish *bhus*

654 In the first person singular I regard the *u* of forms like *dū-sū*, "I will give," as in all the first persons singular, as the vocalization of the personal character *m* (see §§. 436 438) in the Latin *ero*, however, for which *eris* ought to stand, the second element of the Sanscrit *yā* of *syāmi* has been preserved in preference to the first, and in this *ero* has the same relation to *syāmi* that *veho*, above-mentioned, has to *vahāmi* (§. 733) The same is the case with the third person plural, in which *erunt* for *erunt* corresponds to the Sanscrit *syanti* from *asyanti*, and in respect to its *u* for *a* answers to *vehunt* = *vahanti*

655 To the Latin *ero*, *erunt*, from *eso*, *esunt*, correspond, exclusive of their middle terminations, the Greek *ἔσομαι*, *ἔσονται*, the active of which is lost, as far as its simple use *ἔσονται* from *ἐσίουται* answers to the Sanscrit *-syantē* for *asyantē*, and in the singular *ἔσται* to the Sanscrit *-syatē* (= *syatai*) from *asyatē* The form *ἔσται* is originally nothing else than the middle of *ἐστί*, and *ἔστω-ται* also appears, from the point of view of the Greek, like a present, with the conjunctive vowel of the conjugation in *ω* (*λέγ-ε-ται*) The epic forms with double *σ* (*ἔσσομαι*, *ὀλέσσω*) can scarcely have been formed from a consideration of metre, but have been used in the construction of verse only because they were already in existence, and had a grammatical claim to that existence I derive *ἔσσομαι*, *ὀλέσσω*, by assimilation, from *ἔσσομαι*, *ὀλέσσω*,* as *μέσσος* from *μέσγος* for *μέδγος* (Sanskrit *mudhya*, Latin *medium*), and as *ἄλλος* from *ἄλγος* = *alius*, Prakrit *anna*, Sanscrit *anya* The Prakrit regularly assi-

* The Doric form *εσσομαι* from *εσσομαι* for *εσσομαι* consequently contains the character of the future doubled (§ 656), which cannot be surprising, as, when these words were produced, the reason of the duplication of the *σ* was no longer perceived by the language

militas as has been already remarked (§ 300) the weaker consonant to the stronger whether this precedes or follows it and according to this principle it produces also futures in *ssan* * *ssasi* *sadi* &c. e.g. *larissadi* answering to the Sanscrit *la rshyati* he will make. Forms of this kind which are the countertypes of the Greek *ῥσσομαι* are in far more frequent use than those above mentioned in *himi*.

656 In composition the Greek loses the vowel of the root of the auxiliary verb hence *δω σω δω-σομαι* *δεικ σω δεικ-σομαι* as in Sanscrit *dā syāmi* *dā syāmāsi* *dā syāmi* (§ 21) *dā syāmāsi* only with the loss of the *y* for which *i* might be expected and which too it is very remarkable has remained in some Doric forms which Koehn compares at Græc. Cor p 230. They are the following *πραξιομαι* *χαριξιόμεθα* *σινδιαφυλαξιόμεθα* *βοαθησιω* *προλειψιω*†. To this class belong the common Doric futures in *σῶ* *σουμαι* from *σσω* *σομεν* for *σιω* *σιομαι* since the *i* has been first corrupted to *e* and then contracted with the following vowel as in the declension of bases in *i* as *πολις* proceeded from *πολεις* *πολεας* and thus from *πολις* *πολιας* as to the Old High German gentives like *balge-s* (*palkes*) correspond the Gothic like *balgi* *i* or as in the feminine *i* bases the Old High German form *krefte* precedes the Middle High German like *lrefte*. In the genitive plural we have in Old High German even in different authorities together with *krefsto* which must originally have been *kreftyo* the form *krefteu* and suppressing the *e* or *i* *krefte* (*chrefte*). These gentives therefore in their gradual process of corruption coincide exactly with that of the Greek future for from *yo* we arrive first at

* The first person in this formation, loses the *i* of the termination which the forms in *himi* have retained.

† I agree with Pott (I p 115) in thinking *β θισιω* and *πρ λειψω* should be written for *β θισ* *πρ λειψω* as the form in *ω* has arisen first by contraction from *ω* for *ω* the would be twice represented in *ω*.

zo, thence at eo, and in the farthest corruption at o, just as from the Sanscrit future in *syāmi syāmas*, in Greek at first we come to *σίω, σίουμεν*, thence to *σέω, σέομεν*, which we must suppose to have existed before *σῶ, σοῦμεν*, finally to the common future forms like *δώ-σω, δέικ-σω*, in which the semi-vowel of the Sanscrit *dā-syāmi, dēk-shyāmi*, has entirely disappeared. In the Greek second future, however, the second element of the Sanscrit *shya* has been retained in preference to the sibilant, and as the liquids have expelled the *σ* of the first aorist, and *ἔσται* is said for *ἔσταλσα*, so also comes *στελῶ* from *στελέω* for *στελίω*, and thus from *στελσίω*, according to the analogy of the above-mentioned *βοαθη-σίω, προλειπ-σίω*.

657 It is not probable that the Sanscrit future-character *ya* should have originally occurred only in the root *as* of the verb substantive, but I have scarce any doubt that, at a very early epoch, extending back beyond the period of the separation of languages, the attributive verbs likewise might form their future by annexing directly the syllable *ya*, that therefore forms like *dā-yati* have existed before or contemporaneously with such as *dā-syati* = *δώ-σσι*, "he will give." In the present state of the language, however, the attributive verbs always require the verb substantive in order to denote the future, as the Slavonic languages also apply the newly constructed future of the verb substantive (§ 633) to paraphrase the future, without, however (the Servian language excepted), forming with it a compound. The Carniolan and Polish employ with the future of the auxiliary verb that participle in *l, la, lo*, which we have seen above used to express the past (§ 628 &c) the Russian, however, and Bohemian, and sometimes, also, the Old Slavonic, use the infinitive. Thus, in Carniolan we find, in the various genders, *bóm*,*

* The more complete form of *bom* is *bodem*, "I make to be," after the

igral bom igrala bom igralo I will play literally I will be he that plays she that plays it that plays In Polish *bedę[†] czytał czytała czytało* means I will be reading) I will read in Russian *бѣду двигать* I will move literally I will be moving so in Bohemian *budu kradu* (from *kradti*) I will steal The Servian however has this advantage over the other Slavonic dialects that it does not require a periphrasis of the future by the verb substantive but combines the auxiliary verb signifying to do with the themes of the attributive verbs just as with that of the verb substantive thus *igradyu* means I will play¹ as *budyu* does I will be

658 Several Slavonic languages may or must under certain circumstances express the future by a preposition prefixed to the present which signifies after and is pronounced *po* We refer the reader to Dobrowsky's Bohemian Instructions pp 160 &c respecting the difference in signification of the Bohemian futures which are expressed with *po* from those which are conveyed by a periphrasis where both are used simultaneously as *po kradu* and *budu kradu* In Carniolan there are not more than ten verbs which express the future by prefixing *po* as *po-rezhem* I will say *

the analogy of the Old Slavonic *bu du* (§ 633) The contraction of *bodem* to *bom* is like that of *gleday* behold (*gledam* I behold) to *gléy* (see Kopitar's Cr Gr p 334). The contracted form *bom* resembles fortuitously but in a surprising degree the Prakrit present *h mi* I am an abbreviation of *bhōmi* and contraction of the Sanscrit *bhāmi* In the kindred languages however a historical fact lies for the most part at the bottom of fortuitous coincidences which in the case before us consists in this that *bom* and *h mi* like our *bin* Old High German *bim* have the same root and the same personal termination

* *Bedę* = *bendeš* from *bendem* § 255 g

† Compare the Old Slavonic *reku*, *rechesi* and Sanscrit *rac* (see p 6.7 Rem 6)

The rest all express an emotion, as *pobeshím*, "I will fly," *pojésdim*, "I will ride" (Kopitar, p 332). The Old Slavonic employs other prepositions besides *po*, in order to give a future meaning to the present. After *po* the most in use are *оу* (*ú*), "by," and *въз* (*vŕ*), "outwards"; as *ú-vidit*, "*videbit*," *ú-boyú-sya*, "*timebo*" (Sanskrit *bhí*, "to fear," *bhaya*, "fear"), *voŕ-rastú*, "*crescam*" (Dob. p 377)

659 The periphrasis by *búdiú*, "I will be," is rare in Old Slavonic. on the other hand, *imam*, "I have," frequently occurs in the translation of the Evangelists as a future auxiliary verb in combination with the infinitive, as *imyeú imashi*, "*habebis*" ("thou hast to have"), *prúú imaty syn*, "*veniet filius*", *ne imaty byti*, "*non erit*", *ne imaty píti*, "*non bibet*" (Dobrowsky, p 379) Observe the coincidence of idea with the Roman languages, the future of which, though it has completely the character of a simple inflexion form, is nothing else than the combination of the infinitive with the present of the auxiliary verb This would perhaps have been with difficulty discovered, or not at all, on account of the contraction which the auxiliary verb experiences in the plural, but for the clear indication of it we receive from the language of Provence, which at times separates the auxiliary verb from the infinitive by a pronoun, as, *dur vos n'ai*, "*je vous en donnerai*", *dir vos ai*, "*je vous dirai*", *du vos em*, "*nous vous dirons*", *gutar m'etz*, "*vous me jeterez*." It is remarkable that the Old Slavonic occasionally paraphrases the future of the verb "to have" itself by "to have," which the Roman languages are always compelled to do, because they possess no other means of expressing the future thus the French *tu auras* (from *avoiras*) corresponds to the above-mentioned Slavonic *imyeú imashi*

660 The Gothic, also, sometimes paraphrases the future by the auxiliary verb "to have", thus, 2 Cor xi 12, *tanjan haba* for *ποιήσω*, John xii. 26, *visan habaúth* for *ἔσται* (see Grimm IV 93). The German languages have, that is to

say like their Slavonic cognate idioms from the earliest antiquity lost their primitive future inflexion which the Lithuanian and Lettish share to this day with the Sanscrit and Greek. As however the Sanscrit future *syami* is almost identical with the potential *syam* I may be and the future character *यया* springs from the same source with the potential *याय* it deserves notice that Ulfilas frequently expresses the Greek future by the Gothic conjunctive present which is in form identical with the Sanscrit potential and Greek optative. Examples are Mark ix 19 *syau* and *thulau* for *εσομαι* and *ανεξομαι* Mark ix 35 *syai* for *εσται* x 7 *bilethai* for *καταλειψει* x 9 *syaina* for *ισονται*. In the reverse case the Persian uses the only ancient future that it has preserved viz *بشم* *bushem* (= Sanscrit *bhavishyāmi*) also in the sense of the present subjunctive. The attributive verbs in Persian to denote the future prefix to the present *ā* particle beginning with *b* which with regard to its vowel is guided by that of the initial syllable of the verb so that for *u* (*dhamma*) the prefix also contains an *u* but for other vowels an *e* * as *be berem* I will carry *be bazem* I will play but *bu pursem* I will ask. These futures stand in an external analogy with those of the Slavonic languages which are formed from the present by prefixing the preposition *po* (§§ 658 &c). We must however leave it undecided whether the Persian prefix of the future which may also precede the imperative is identical with the inseparable preposition *be* or whether as appears to me far more probable it is connected with *ب* *bu jed* *oportet* and has therefore our ideal relationship with the periphrasis of the future which is formed by the auxiliary verb *sollen* and which still remains in several more ancient and more recent German

* *Asra* properly *i* which however is usually pronounced like *fatla*
i *e* originally *a* commonly *e*

willing person may also alter his will and hence not do what he intended. The Old Northern language, in paraphrasing the future, uses the anomalous *mun*. I think which employs the preterite form as the present *e g munt vera eris mun slitna rumpetur koma munu venient*. To this head belongs the circumstance that occasionally the Gothic weak verb *munan* represents not indeed the proper future but the Greek construction with *μελλω* for which however *haban* is also applied (Grimm IV 93 178) thus John xiv 22 *munais gabaurhtyan μελλεις εμφανιζειν*. Ulfilas however could scarcely have imagined that his *munan* and the Greek *μελλω* are radically akin which is the case if I mistake not. I believe that *μελλω* stands in the same relation to the Sanscrit *manyé* (only that the latter is a middle verb)

I think I mean as *αλλος* does to *anya s* the other (§ 655). The circumstance that we have the Sanscrit root in Greek also in a truer form and one which retains the original *n* (*e g μενος = manas*) does not prevent the assumption that besides this the favourite exchange of liquids takes place and consequently *μελλω* might become estranged from the forms with *v*.

662 Latin futures like *amabo docebo* have already in my System of Conjugation as compounds with the root *fu* (the *f* of which in the interior of a word becomes *b* see § 18) and *bo bis bit* &c been compared with the Anglo Saxon *beo*. I will be *bys* thou wilt be *bydh* he will be *Lo* a sister form of the *bam* of *amabam docebam* mentioned before (§§ 526 &c) answers in conjugation exactly to *ero bo* therefore stands for *bio bunt* for *biunt* and the *i* of *bis bit biimus bitis* is a contraction of the Sanscrit future character *ya* (§ 651). From the root *bhú* would come the forms *bhuyam bhuyasi bhuyati* &c or with Guna *bhóyāmi bhóyasi* &c if the said root were not combined in the future with the root *as* but annexed the syllable *ya* direct (before *m* and *i ya*). To this would correspond in Latin in its isolated state *fuyo fuis fuit* in which however

fuit would be distinguished from the perfect (aorist) *fuit* in this, that the *i* in the latter form is nothing but a conjunctive vowel and the weakening of an original *a*, but in the future the contraction of *ya* and expression of the relation of time. In *bo*, *bis*, *bit*, the *u* of the root *fu* is passed over, as in *fio*, *fis*, *fit*, which is properly the passive of *fu*, and corresponds to the Sanscrit passive *bhû-yé*, *bhû-ya-sé*, *bhu-ya-té*, only with active terminations like the Prakrit, which preserves the characteristic syllable *ya* of the Sanscrit passive (of which we will speak hereafter), but has replaced the middle terminations by active ones

663 The question may be raised, whether the Latin *bo* is really based on a presupposed Sanscrit *bhûyâmi* or *bhûyâmi*, and thus, whether this form existed at the time of the division of languages, and if alone, or, together with that, compounded with the other root of "to be," on which the Zend *bûsyêmi*, the Greek *φύ-σω*, the Lithuanian *bû-su*, and the Irish *bhus*, "*erit*," mentioned above, are founded, or whether the Latin *bo* likewise, at an earlier period, was combined with the other auxiliary verb, whether, therefore, in an isolated state, a *furo* from an earlier *fuso*, for *fusio*, existed, like the Greek *φύ-σω* from *φν-σίω*? This question cannot be decided with certainty, but the latter, according to which *amabo*, *amabis*, &c., would appear as contractions of *amaburo*, *amaburis*, appears to me the more probable particularly as the forms, which are incumbered by the composition, have most cause to be weakened. It may be observed, that, even without any external occasion for being weakened, the Old High German, in the very same root, contrasts with its plural *birumés*, "we are" (= Sanscrit *bhavâmas*, § 20), a singular *bim* for *birum*. The Carniolan exhibits, as we have seen (§ 657), together with *bódem*, "I will be" ("make to be"), corresponding to the Slavonic cognate idioms, a contracted form *bóm*, to which the Latin *bo* approaches very closely, though with a different kind of

contraction The Anglo Saxon *beo*, mentioned above (also *beom*) I will be is properly not a formal future but a present answering to our *bin* Old High German *bim* and to the Sanscrit *bhavāmi* which is principally used with a future meaning while *eam*=*asmī* Gothic *im* remains devoted to the present. It might also be disputed whether the Latin *bo* of *amabo* is actually a future for then it would be necessary to identify the *i* of *bis* *bit* &c. with the conjunctive vowel *a* of the Sanscrit *bhav a si* *bhav-a ti* and to place it on the same footing with the *i* of *ich i s* *ich i t*=*ich a si* *ich a ti* (see § 507) Remark the obsolete subjunctive *fuam* which presupposes a present indicative *fu* *fuis* (§ 510) However that opinion appears to be most probably the true one that *bo* *bis* rest on the same principle of formation with *ero* *eris* and that therefore there is a reason why *amabo* *monebo* have a future and not a present signification. It appears certain that the third and fourth conjugations did all form their futures in *bo* (compare § 529) futures in *am* however are according to their origin of the subjunctive mood* and we shall return to them hereafter. We have already (§ 526) noticed the remarkable coincidence which exists between the Latin and the Irish in the circumstance that the latter combines all attributive verbs in the future with the labial root of the verb substantive. The Irish however is superior to the Latin in this that in the simple state of the verb substantive it forms the future not from the root which is in Sanscrit *as* but from that which has the labial initial sound (see § 526)

66† It remains to be remarked with regard to the Sanscrit future that the syllable *sya* which proceeds from the verb substantive is combined with the root either directly or by means of a conjunctive vowel :

* Compare System of Conjugation p 98

after the manner of the third aorist formation (§ 560), so that the *s*, through the influence of this *i*, again becomes *sh*, as in *tan-i-shyāmi*, “*extendam*” Radical vowels, capable of Guna, receive it,* hence, *dēk-shyāmi* = *δείκ-σω* from *dīs*, “to shew”, *lēk-shyāmi* = *λείκ-σω* from *līh*, “to lick”, *yōk-shyāmi* = *ζεύκ-σω* from *yuy*, “to combine” (§ 19), *bhav-i-shyāmi* from *bhū*, “to be” The Greek has Guna only where the present, also, has a Guna vowel, as in the examples adduced, it contrasts, however, *λύ-σω*, *φύ-σω*, *ρίπ-σω*, with the Sanscrit *lav-i-shyāmi* from *lū*, “to cut off,” *bhav-i-shyāmi* from *bhū*, “to be,” *kshēp-syāmi* from *kship*, “to cast” The Zend, also, in respect to the Guna, does not agree exactly with the Sanscrit, hence, *būsyēmi*, “*ero*” (§ 665), both in not employing the Guna, and also in the direct annexation of the auxiliary verb, corresponds more to the Greek *φύ-σω* and Lithuanian *bū-su* than to the Sanscrit *bhav-i-shyāmi* We subjoin the full conjugation of this future, and append to it the Latin *fac-so*, which is very isolated, and which agrees with *φύ-σω*, *bū-su*, not only in the formation, but is also radically akin to it (§ 19)

SINGULAR

SANSKRIT	ZEND	LITH	LATIN	GREEK
<i>bhav-i-shyāmi</i> ,	<i>bū-syēmi</i> , ¹	<i>bū-su</i> ,	<i>fac-so</i> ,	<i>φύ-σω</i> ²
<i>bhav-i-shyasi</i> ,	<i>bū-syēhi</i> , ¹	<i>bū-si</i> , ³	<i>fac-sis</i> ,	<i>φύ-σεις</i>
<i>bhav-i-shyati</i> ,	<i>bū-syēiti</i> , ¹	<i>bu-s</i> ,	<i>fac-sit</i> ,	<i>φύ-σει</i>

DUAL

<i>bhav-i-shyāvas</i> ,	.	<i>bū-siwa</i> ,	
<i>bhav-i-shyathas</i> ,	<i>bū-syathō</i> ?	<i>bū-sita</i> ,	<i>φύ-σεται</i>
<i>bhav-i-shyatas</i> ,	<i>bū-syatō</i> ,	like Sing	<i>φύ-σεται</i>

* Where Guna is prescribed in Sanscrit Grammar we are to understand that in the middle of roots only short vowels receive Guna before simple consonants, but at the end of roots long vowels also

PLURAL

SANSCRIT	ZEAL	ITHI	LATIN	GREEK
<i>bhav 1-shyamas</i>	<i>bu syāmahi</i>	<i>bu sime</i>	<i>fac simus</i>	<i>φν-σομεν</i>
<i>bhav 1 shyatha</i>	<i>bu syathu</i>	<i>bu site</i>	<i>fac-sitis</i>	<i>φν-σετε</i>
<i>bhav 1 shyanti</i>	<i>bu syanti</i>	like Sing	<i>fac-sunt</i>	<i>φν-σονται</i>

¹ § 4^o ² From φνσ ω § 656 ³ The 1 is the personal termination see § 418

On account of the perfect agreement between *ददामि dā-syāmi* δωσω and the Lithuanian *dusu* (*duo su*) this future also may be here fully conjugated and the Latin *dabo* subjoined as it agrees with the Lithuanian 1 and Sanscrit *ya* though not in the auxiliary verb still in respect to the future characteristic 1 of *dabis* &c

ACTIVI

SINGULAR

Sanskrit	Greek	Lithuanian	Latin
<i>dā syāmi</i>	δω-σω	<i>dusu</i>	<i>da bo</i>
<i>dā syasi</i>	δω σεις	<i>du si</i>	<i>da bis</i>
<i>dā syati</i>	δω σει	<i>du s</i>	<i>da bit</i>

DUAL

<i>dā syāvas</i>		<i>du suva</i>	
<i>dā syathas</i>	δω-σεται	<i>du sita</i>	
<i>dā syatas</i>	δω-σεται	like Sing	

PLURAL

<i>dā-syāmas</i>	δω σομεν	<i>du sime</i>	<i>da binus</i>
<i>du syatha</i>	δω-σετε	<i>du site</i>	<i>da bitis</i>
<i>dā syanti</i>	δω σονται	like Sing	<i>da bunt</i>

MIDDLE

SINGULAR

DUAL

Sanskrit	Greek	Sanskrit	Greek
<i>du syé</i>	δω σομαι	<i>du syānhié</i>	δω σομεθον
<i>du syave</i>	(δω σεσαι)	<i>dā syethé</i>	δω σεσθον
<i>du syate</i>	δω σεται	<i>dās yéte</i>	δω-σεσθον

MIDDLE

PLURAL

<i>Sanscrit</i>	<i>Greek.</i>
<i>dâ-syâmahê,</i>	δῶ-σομῃθα
<i>dâ-syadhvê,</i>	δῶ-σσοθῃ.
<i>dâ-syantê,</i>	δῶ-σονται

665 The Zend future agrees, in essentials, with the Sanscrit, as we have already seen from the relation of *bûsyêmi* to *bhavishyâmi*. Still this example shews that the Zend, in respect to the Guna and introduction of a conjunctive vowel *i*, does not everywhere keep pace with the Sanscrit, and in the case before us resembles more closely the Greek φύσω and Lithuanian *bîsu* than 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 *bhavishyâmi*. I cannot, however, adduce the form *bûsyêmi* even from the Zend-Avesta, but from the frequently occurring participle *bûsyantêm*, "the about to be" (Vend S p 89), we may, with the more certainty, infer *bûsyêmi*, *bûsyêhi*, &c, than we can, in Greek, ἔσομαι from ἐσόμενος, and, in Sanscrit, *bhavishyâmi* from *bhavishyan*. The form in *êmi*, *êhi*, *êti*, is apparent from § 42, for the *y* invariably exerts an assimilating influence upon the *â* or *a*, which precedes the terminations *mi*, *hi*, *ti*, through which those vowels become *ê*. That, however, the *y* of the future makes no exception to this rule is proved, if proof be required, among other proofs, by that of 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 *vacsyêti* (Vend S p 83), "he will say,"* answering to the Sanscrit *vakshyati* from *vach*. In the dual and plural, the *y* abstains from its assimilating influence, and, in the third person plural, as generally before *n*, it protects the *a* following from being weakened to *ê*, as occurs elsewhere.

666 The third person dual would give the 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀

* Anquetil (p 139), "voici ce que dit maintenant"

racsayald mentioned at § 461 Rem * if it corresponded to the Sanscrit *राक्षस्य* *rakshyatas* from *rah* to carry to bear I now however prefer regarding it as the causal of the Sanscrit root *taksh* 'accumulare' which may perhaps also signify to grow and with which the Gothic root *LAIS* regularly agrees whence *rahsya* I grow *rahs*

I grew with *h* for *k* according to a general law for the change of sounds. The Zend *uacsyém* I grow appears to be a contraction of *uacsyém* (compare § 536 Rem) as in Sanskrit such contractions occur only in forms devoid of Guna and from *uach* to speak the gerund indeed is *uktá* but the infinitive which requires Guna is not *uktum* but *uaktum*. As then in the causal verb the vowels capable of Guna receive it it need not surprise us if in Zend the root *uac* as a verb of the fourth class to which Guna does not belong were contracted to *u* but in the causal retained the full form *uac* as in Sanskrit, the root *vyadh* of the fourth class forms in the present, *vidhyámi* for *vyadhyámi* but in the causal *vyád dhayámi*.

667 That tho Zend also occasionally uses the conjunctive vowel i in its future is proved by the form 𐬔𐬁𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬭𐬀
daibisyanti: they will disturb from the root *dab* which corresponds to the Sanscrit *dambh* to deceive and in the preceding and several other forms which occur in the Vend S has through the influence of the i of the following syllable received an i in the root (§ 11) It is translated by Anquetil in various passages by affliger and blesser The future form mentioned occurs Vendidad Side p 215 𐬕𐬁𐬀𐬏𐬨𐬀
 𐬔𐬁𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬭𐬀 yōi vāo daibisyanti * which will disturb you both Anquetil renders thus strangely enough vous deux affligez ceux qui me tiennent dans l'oppression In another passage (p 223) we find the third person plural of the future

* I believe it is to be written thus, instead of —*the*

3 n however I do not believe it to be the transferred radical / n of the root *zan* but I assume that the radical n is dropped and I explain the n as euphonic as in *usa-ayanha* "thou wast born" (§ 56) where the n of the root *zan* has likewise been lost. But if we are to suppose that this root retained its nasal in the future then we should expect either the form *zanisye* with a conjunctive vowel or *zanisye* without the vowel as the Sanskrit sound *ans* regularly makes its appearance in Zend in the form *an*

669 From the roots *dā* to give and *dā* to place might according to § 56^b be expected the future form *dāduhyēmi* as however in Zend sometimes also *khy* occurs as the representative of the Sanskrit *sy* (see p 290) we must be prepared for a form *dādkhyēmi* and the passive participle of this we find in Vend S p 89 where in like manner the passive participle *u- dātananm* of these held up precedes the genitive plural of the future participle *u dādkhyamnananm* (= Sanskrit *uddhāsyamānānam*) of those about to be held up * as above we have seen *dātananm-cha* and *zanhyamnananm-cha* close together. As we have therefore the subjunct of the verb substantive here before us in the shape of a guttural we will again draw attention to what has been said above of the probable origin of the κ of *έδωκα δέδωκα* from σ (§§ 568 &c). As the Zend root *dā* to place

by¹ make † corresponds to the Greek *τιθημι* consequently the *dākh* of the *dādkhyamnananm* which has been mentioned would be identical with the Greek *θηκ* of *έθηκα τεθηκα*

670 As respects however the origin of the exponent of

* With a perhaps erroneous rejection of the *a* of the participial suffix Anquetil's translation also '*qu'il faut toujours tenir et etc*' is evidence that this may be regarded as expressing the future

† The corresponding Sanskrit *dā* means also to hold

the future, *ya*, with which that of the potential and precative *yâ* is to be ranked, I am still of the opinion already expressed in my System of Conjugation, that these syllables proceed from the root 𐤆 *î*, "to wish." Consequently the Greek optative, which is founded on the Sanscrit potential and precative, would, according to its signification, have its name from the same verb to which it owes its formal origin. If the conjunctive vowel of the first and sixth class be added to the root 𐤆 *î*, it would make *ya*, according to the same phonetic principle by which the root *î*, "to go," forms, in the third person plural, *yanti*. From this *yanti*, therefore, the termination of *dâ-s-yanti*, "they will give," cannot be distinguished. It cannot be denied, too, that the root *î*, "to go," to which Wullner (Origin of Lingual Forms, §§ 46, 47) has betaken himself in explaining the future, is, in respect of form, just as suitable as *î*. But the meaning "to wish," "to will," is certainly more adapted to express the future and the optative than that of "to go." This is also confirmed by the use of language, as several idioms, quite independent of one another, have simply, through internal impulse, come to the decision of expressing the future by "to will." It is certain that the New Grecian and Old High German (§. 661.), nay, even the various German dialects, have, in this respect, borrowed nothing from one another nor imitated each other. The Old Slavonic, also, sometimes employs an auxiliary verb, signifying "to will," to express the future. It is not, however, to be overlooked, that the examples which Dobrowsky (p. 380) adduces from the translation of the Bible are all preceded by μέλλω in the Greek text, for which reason, unless other instances occur where this is not the case, we must conjecture that the wish of keeping as close as possible to the Greek text must have suggested to the Slavonic translator his χομѣ *choshchâ*, thus Luke xxi 7, *yegda chotyat siya byti*, ὅταν μέλλῃ ταῦτα γένεσθαι, Matt xi 14, *chotyai pruti*, ὁ μέλλων ἔρχεσθαι. Respecting the conjectural

relationship of the Greek *μελλω* with the Indian *manyē*
I think see p 889

671 The Sanscrit sometimes uses its desiderative form to denote the future as in the episode of the Drupadi *mu mūrshu* wishing to die occurs in the sense of about to die and conversely, in different languages the expression of the future is occasionally used to denote that of to will and the Latin forms its desideratives from the future participle in *turus*, abbreviating the *u* and adding the characteristic of the fourth conjugation the *i* of which however has nothing to do with the Sanscrit future suffix *ya* but as has been shewn is founded on the characteristic of the tenth class *aya* which is frequently used in Sanscrit to form denominatives The Greek forms desideratives from the future in *σω* or perhaps from the older form in *σιω* so that in forms like *παράδωσειω γελασειω* the *i* would be strengthened only by an *e* which would give the Guna augment These desideratives however and the future may be regarded as cognate forms so that both independently of each other but by a similar formation would have proceeded from the verbal theme as there are in Sanscrit also desideratives which have the form of the future but have not proceeded from it but following its analogy have sprung from a nominal base e g *vrisha syami* to desire the bull *madhu-asyami* to ask for honey In the latter example the *a* of the root of the verb substantive is perhaps contained But usually in denominative desideratives the verb substantive is quite omitted or has become obsolete and they only contain the syllable *ya i e* the auxiliary verb to wish which is characteristic of the future e g *pati yāmi* I wish for a spouse from *pati* 'spouse It is not improbable that the desideratives which have been formed from primitive roots by the addition of a sibilant and which are furnished with a syllable of reduplication had originally a *y* after the sibilant and therefore likewise the root of to wish alluded to

thus, *e.g.* *pīpā-sāmī*, "I wish to drink," from *pīpā-syāmī*, agreeing with *pā-syāmī*, "I will drink." If this is the case, then *pīpāsāmī* has the same relation to the pre-supposed *pīpāsyāmī* that the Greek *δῶ-σω*, from *δωσίω*, has to the Sanscrit *dāsyāmī*. The root being burthened with the reduplication might, perhaps, produce a weakening in the final portion of the word, similar to that through which the reduplicated verbs in the third person plural have lost the nasal belonging to this person, and *bibhātī* "they carry," is said for *bibhrantī* (§. 459). We shall recur hereafter to the desideratives.

FORMATION OF THE MOODS

POTENTIAL, OPTATIVE, AND SUBJUNCTIVE

672 The Sanscrit potential, which, with several peculiarities of use, combines in itself the Greek subjunctive and optative, but in form adheres to the latter, is, in that conjugation which corresponds to the Greek in *μι*, formed by the syllable *yā*, which is prefixed to the personal terminations. The class peculiarities are retained, *e.g.* *vidyām* "sciam," from *vid*, class 2, *bibhiyām* "feram," from *bhī*, class 3, *strinuyām*, "sternam," from *stī*, class 5, *syām* for *asyām* "sum," from *as*, class 2. We easily recognise the modal exponent *yā* in the Greek *ιη*, in which the semi-vowel has become a vowel, according to the Greek system of sounds, the *ι*, however, always forms a diphthong with the preceding radical vowel, as there are no present forms like *ἐδμι* (Sanskrit *admī*, Latin *edmi*), and therefore no optatives also like *ἐδίην*, which would resemble the Sanscrit *adyām*. But *δίδοιην* corresponds tolerably well to the Sanscrit *dadyām*, especially if its radical vowel is restored, which, through a particular irregularity, it has lost. According to rule, *dadāyām* would correspond to the Greek *δίδοιην*, but the root *dā*, under the retro-active influence of the heavy personal terminations and of the modal characteristic under discussion, suppresses its radical

vowel according to the same principle by which the Greek verb shortens its ω thus *dadyām* = $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota\eta$ as *dadmas* = $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota$ (see § 481 Table) The Sanserit root *as* to be loses by a special anomaly (which is nevertheless founded on the law of gravity which acts with such astonishing consequences) its initial *a* in those places where *dā* drops its final vowel hence *syām* I may be answering to the Greek $\epsilon\eta\eta$ because σ between two vowels very easily admits of being dislodged but the root $\Delta\Sigma$ firmly protects its vowel hence also in the present indicative $\epsilon\sigma\mu\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon$ are more full than the Sanserit cognate forms *smas* *wa* are *stha* *ye* are

673 The agreement of the Greek and Sanserit is very remarkable in this point that both languages have in the middle entirely lost the long vowel of the modal exponent *yā* η hence $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$ $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ for $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota\eta\tau\omicron$ $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota\eta\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ as in Sanserit *dadita* *dadimahi* for *dadyāta* *dadyāmahī* The cause clearly lies in the weightier personal terminations of the middle but I would not maintain that the wound inflicted by them in both languages in one and the same place on the preceding modal exponent took place so early as the period when Greek and Sanserit were still one The principle of the form weakening retro active influence of the weight of the personal terminations must however have existed at that time and several circumstances in our European circle of languages point to this that at the time of the identity of the languages which are now separated several convulsions took place in the organization of each family of languages In the preceding case however the Greek $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$ by its accent shews itself to be a comparatively recent contraction for if the rejection of the η was primitive and had taken place before the separation of languages $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$ would be accented like $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$ The Greek shews itself too in the suppression of the η independent of the Sanserit in this that it admits this vowel in the two plural numbers of the active and for $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$ also $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$ while the San

script together with *dadyâma* has not a form *dadîma*, but both in this and in all verbs of the second conjugation the modal syllable *yâ* is left unweakened in both the plural numbers of the active voice, although in other respects these two numbers follow the analogy of the middle, as their terminations are heavier than those of the singular

674 The Latin subjunctive coincides in form with the Greek optative and Sanscrit potential. Its agreement with the former might have been perceived, without the intervention of the Sanscrit, from *sim*, *velim*, *edim*, and *dum*, the modal *i* of which coincides with the Greek *ι* of *ἰδοίην*. But these Latin forms resemble the Sanscrit still more closely than the Greek, for instance, *edim* answers admirably to the Sanscrit *adyâm*, the *yâ* of which, in the middle, if *ad* were used in that voice, must be contracted to *i*, so that *adi-mahi* would correspond to the Latin *edîmus*. Thus *sim*, for *sîm*, answers to *syâm*, and *sîmus* still more exactly to the middle *sîmahi*. The obsolete form *sîem*, *sîes*, *sîet*, corresponding to the Sanscrit *syâm*, *syâs*, *syât*, is so far a grammatical jewel, that the full modal characteristic ण *yâ*, Greek *ην*, is contained in it, and it may thence be inferred, that *edim*, also, &c, was preceded by an older *edîem*, *edîes*, *edîet* = *adyâm*, *adyâs*, *adyât*, and *velim*, *dum*, &c, by a more full *velîem*, *duyem* (from *dayem*). The more weighty terminations of the plural have, by their retro-active shortening influence, effected the suppression of the *e* before them earlier than before the more light terminations of the singular. It may, however, be reasonably assumed, that the forms *sîemus*, *sîêtis*, *sîent* = *syâma*, *syâta*, *syus* (from *syânt*), have existed in some other more early epoch of the language, and to them, *sîumus*, &c, has the same relation that, in Greek, the abbreviated *ἰδοίμεν* has to *ἰδοίημεν*.

675 The German, in which the subjunctive is likewise based on the Sanscrit potential and Greek optative, forms

the preterite of this mood according to the principle of the Sanscrit second conjugation of the second third and seventh class and of the Greek conjugation in *μῆ 1 ε* by attaching the modal element to the root direct and in fact in Gothic the first person in *yan* resembles very strikingly the Sanscrit *ydm* only that the *d* has been shortened and the *m* vocalized to *u* (§ 477). Compare after removing what belongs to the relation of time *dyau*

I ate with the Sanscrit *adydm* I may eat. In the other persons the Gothic follows the analogy of the Sanscrit and Greek middle *1 ε* in suppressing the *a* of *ya* while the *y* as in Sanscrit becomes long *i* for which in Gothic *ei* is written hence *et-ei ma* Old High German *dimas* resembles the Sanscrit *ad i mahi* and Latin *ed i mus*, *et-ei-th* Old High German *d it* the Sanscrit *ad i theim* and Latin *ed i tis*, in the second person singular *et ei 2 (1 2)* is almost identical with the Latin *ed is*. In the third person however the personal sign has been lost (§ 120) and in consequence of this loss the long *i* sound which comes to stand at the end is shortened thus *eti* answering to the Sanscrit *odita* and Latin *edit*.

676 It scarcely requires to be remarked, that I do not understand the resemblance between the Gothic *et ei ma* and Sanscrit *ad i mahi* as though the Gothic subjunctive preterite with exception of the first person singular was really referable to the Sanscrit middle the contraction of *ya* to *ei=1* is rather a pure Gothicism which was probably preceded by a weakening of *yo* to *yi* according to the principle

* *Ita* I eat, from the root *at* is so far the most remarkable verb of its class, because *etum* "we ate" (for *etur* from *a-atum* Old High German *a umfa*), contains a reduplication without having experienced ablutation like *etum* and similar forms (§ 603). The Old High German *a-umfa* corresponds almost exactly to the Sanscrit reduplicated *itima* from *a-adima*.

by which nominal bases in *ya* exhibit in the nominative singular *yi-s* for *ya-s*, in case this syllable is preceded by only one syllable, and, in fact, a short one. But if a vowel long by nature or by position, or more than one syllable precedes, the syllable *ya* is not only weakened to *yi*, but is contracted to long *î* (*ei*), and at the end of a word to short *i*, hence, *anders* "end," for *andyns* from *andyas*, accusative *andi* for *andya*. Before a final nasal or *ns* the syllable *ya* remains in its original state, hence, in the dative plural, *andya-m*, accusative *andya-ns*. On the same phonetic law is based the phenomenon that the *u* of the first person singular of our modal-form, which has arisen from *m*, has preserved the syllable *ya* in its complete form, and hence, *êtyau* from *êtyam*, "I ate," may be compared with the dative plural *andyam*, *êters*, "thou atest," with the nominative and genitive singular *anders*, and the third person singular *êti*, which terminates with short *i*, with the accusative *andi*.

677 In Old Slavonic there are some remains of the Greek conjugation in μ , or the Sanscrit second conjugation. These have preserved the personal termination in the first person singular of the present, and in the imperative (which I believe I must in its formation identify with the Sanscrit-Zend potential, the Latin-German subjunctive, and Greek optative) annex the exponent of the modal relation direct to the root. The modal characteristic, however, has preserved only the semi-vowel of the Sanscrit *yâ*, and as in the second person singular the *s* of *yâs*, since from the oldest period it has stood at the end, must, according to a universal law of sound, disappear, so $\text{ѣжѣ} \text{ yashdy}$ (euphonic for *yady*), "eat," corresponds to the Sanscrit *adyâs*, "thou mayest eat," and Latin *edîs*, $\text{вѣжѣ} \text{ vyeshdy}$ (for *vyedy*) "know," to the Sanscrit *vidyâs*, and $\text{дажѣ} \text{ dashdy}$ (for *dady*), "give," to the Greek $\delta\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota\eta\varsigma$, and still more to the Sanscrit *dadyâs*, since, like it, it has lost the radical vowel. The Slavonic forms which have been cited pass also as third persons, for $\text{ѣжѣ} \text{ yâs}$ and

यात् *yāt* cannot be distinguished in Slavonic because the rule for the extirpation of final consonants has spared the *t* as little as the *s* while the Greek admits the *Σ* at the end there also where in the lingual epoch preceding that of the Greek it stood as the last pillar of the word and thus *διδούς* can be distinguished from *διδόν* which is deprived of the personal sign

678 In the first person plural *ѣдѹмѹ* *yashdymy* *ѣдѹмѹ* *vyeshdymy* *ѡдѹмѹ* *dashdymy* answer to *ѡдѹмѹ* *adyāmas* *edimus* *ѡдѹмѹ* *edyāmas* *ѡдѹмѹ* *dadyāmas* *διδόμεν* *dumus* and in the second *ѣдѹте* *yashdyle* *ѣдѹте* *vyeshdyle* *ѡдѹте* *dashdyle* to *ѡдѹ* *adyāta* *editis* *ѡдѹ* *edyāta* *ѡдѹ* *dadyāta* *διδότε* *dutis* The second person plural represents in the Old Slavonic imperative also the third person a misuse which may have been favoured by the fact that in the singular the third person is not distinguished from the second from reasons connected with the law of sounds and in the dual also the terminations *там* *tam* *тамъ* *tām* for which the Greek uses *τον την* have both become *ta*, for though the Slavonic *a* generally represents the long Sanscrit *a* still it sometimes stands for the short *a* also and therefore *ta* has as good a foundation in the second person dual as in the third but through the else where very common corruption of *a* to *e* the dual second person has become like that of the plural For the rest the second person is most used in the imperative and this may have been an additional cause why in the plural the third person has been entirely removed from lingual existence which is therefore less surprising than that in Old and Anglo Saxon the second person plural should represent the other two in the present indicative also But if in the Old Slavonic imperative the genuine third person plural had remained in use it would in my opinion be the same as the second and third of the singular for the final consonant sounds of the Greek Zend *ev dan* or *en* and Latin *nt* would

have given way, and as the vowel of the modal expression *yâ* has, in general, disappeared, only *dashdy* could have corresponded to the Zend *dandhyam*, Greek *διδόειν*, and Old Latin *duint*. This apparent identity with two persons of the singular might have accorded less with the language than the actual exchange for one of the same number.

679 I refer, also, the Lithuanian imperative, in its origin, to the department of the mood here discussed, for in all verbs, without exception, the vowel *i* is its characteristic, which admits of no other comparison than with the Slavonic *y*, just mentioned, the Greek *i* of all optatives, the Latin *i* of *sim*, *edim*, *velim*, *duim*, and the Sanscrit-Zend *yâ*, or *î*. The Lithuanian imperative, however, gains a peculiar appearance, and one estranged from the corresponding sound of the cognate languages, in that it conceals the true exponent of the modal relation behind a *k*, which is always prefixed to the *i*, only that, if the root itself ends with *k*, for two *k*'s only one is used. As in the second person singular, in which the *i* ought to conclude the form, this final vowel is generally suppressed, but the *k* is extended to all persons of the imperative, with the exception of the third, of which hereafter, we may be easily tempted to regard this *k* as the true imperative suffix, and thus quite disengage the Lithuanian in this mood from its otherwise close union with the other cognate languages. From the root *bu*, "to be," proceed the forms *bûki*, or *bûk*, "be," *bûkite*, "be ye," *bûkime*, "let us be," *bûkma*, "let us two be," *bûkila*, "let them two be." So *dûki*, or *dûk*, "give thou," *dûkite*, "give ye," &c. In most cases it happens, that the *k* appears between two vowels for, in the preceding examples, the root, and in Mielke's three last conjugations, the class syllable, corresponding to the Sanscrit *aya* (§ 506), end with a vowel and as the verb *sukù*, "I turn," given as example of the first conjugation, on account of the *k*, which terminates

the root abstains from the affix under discussion Mielke's Grammar therefore is utterly deficient in an instance exhibiting the combination of the *l* of the imperative with a consonant. But Ruling gives from *laupsinu* I praise the imperative *laupsink* (*laupsinkl*) and according to Mielke's rule given at p. 78 we must expect from infinitives like *ras ti* to find (euphonic for *rad ti*) imperatives like *ras l* or *ras li* since a *l* should take the place of the infinitive suffix.

650 As respects the origin of the *l* which is peculiar to the Lithuanian imperative it is probably as has been already observed a corruption of the *s* of the verb substantive and consequently *duki* give thou is doubly related to the Old Slavonic *dach* I give and to the Greek *ἐδωκα δὲ δωκα* (see §§. 568-569) as also to the Zend *𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬢𐬀* *dul hyēnu* I will give (= Sanscrit *dāsyami*) which I am unable to quote but I believe I may safely deduce it from the above mentioned participle of the root *dā* to *ly* which has the same sound with *dā* to give (see §. 669). The same relation that the Zend future *dāl hyēnu* has to the Sanscrit *dasyami* is held as respects the employing a guttural instead of an original sibilant by the Lithuanian *dul* to the Sanscrit precativ middle *dasīya*. In the dual the Lithuanian *dukūva* answers to the Sanscrit *dasivah* and in the plural *dukime* to *dasimahi*. The Sanscrit precativ is however in fact nothing else than a modification of the potential and has in essentials the same relation to it that the Greek aorist optative has to the present optative: i. e. the class differences are removed. Compare *deyās déyat* for *dayas dayat* * Zend *dayao dayat* with *δοῖης δοῖη*. In all the other persons the Sanscrit adds

* A radical *a* passes into *i* in most roots through the assimilation in fluence of the *y* following but not in Zend.

an *s*, i.e. the verb substantive, to the modal exponent *γὰ*, and thus *dēyāsam* resembles the Greek third person plural *δοίησαν*. This dissimilar introduction of the verb substantive may be regarded as a phenomenon, which first made its appearance after the separation of the languages, for which reason the Zend, though it continued with the Sanscrit much longer than the European cognate idioms, does not share in it, and in the plural contrasts *𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌* *dāyāma*, *𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌* *dāyata*, *𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌* *dāyanm*,* with the Greek *δοίημεν*, *δοίητε*, *δοίεν*, and Sanscrit *dēyāma*, *dēyāsta*, *dēyāsus*. In the first person singular I find *𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌* *dyanm* (probably erroneously for *dāyanm*) in a passage already cited with a different object (see p 277), a form in good analogy with the Greek *δοίην*, for which in Sanscrit *dēyāsam*.

681 In the middle, the Sanscrit, in the precativè, commits to the verb substantive the function of denoting the modal relation, exactly as, in the future of the two active forms, the relation of time. As, therefore, in *dā-syāmi dabo*, the last portion is the future of the verb substantive, so in *dā-sī-ya*,† “I may give,” its precativè or potential aorist is contained, and the Lithuanian *dũ-kì*, “give” (without any personal termination), is rightly analogous to *dāsī*, the sibilant being hardened to *k*, which alone distinguishes the imperative from the future. Compare *dũ-kite*, “give ye,” with *dũ-site*, “ye will give.” In spite, however, of the great agreement between *dũ-kì* and *dā-sī*, it is still requisite to assume that the Lithuanian has brought with it from its Asiatic place of origin the preceding form of its imperative, and that *dũ-kì-te*, “give ye,” is the transmission of the Sanscrit *dā-sī-dhvam*, *detis*, with the substitution only of an active personal termination for a middle one, but the very natural accession of the verb

* Compare Burnouf's Yaçna, Note, pp cl cli

† The *y* is a euphonic insertion, and *a*, for *ma*, the termination

substantive may be admitted in both languages independently of one another. The firm adherence to the ancient modal character the original *yd* of which has been contracted in the Sanscrit middle preceptive and potential to *i* in the Lithuanian imperfect to *i* has in the preceding case effected a surprising similarity in the languages which have been from time immemorial distinct and subject to their own separate destiny. The conjecture however that the *k* of the Lithuanian imperfect has arisen from *s* is supported by the Old Prussian which is most intimately connected with the Lithuanian and which furnishes us with an optative or subjunctive in which *s* is contrasted with the Lithuanian *k* at least I have no doubt that forms like *da se* 'he may give' * *galb se* 'he may help' *bou se* 'he may be' *bou sei* 'they may be' *tussi se* 'he may be silent' (Sanskrit *tushnim* 'still silent') are to be looked upon as cognate forms of the Lithuanian imperative and Sanscrit preceptive and thus *da se* (without a personal termination like the Greek *δοῖν*) may be contrasted with the Sanscrit *dā si shṭa* 'he may give'.

682 In support of my assertion that the Lithuanian imperative is based on the Sanscrit preceptive not on the potential may be specially adduced the circumstance that in the latter case in those verbs which correspond to the Sanscrit first class it would necessarily retain the vowel inserted between the root and the personal termination e.g. the inserted *a* of *ucz a me* 'we carry' *ucz a te* 'ye carry' would not be lost but most probably we should have in their place *ucz ai me* *wcz ai te* which would be analogous to the Gothic *viġ ai-ma* *viġ ai-th* to the Greek *ἐχ οἱ μεν* *ἐχ οἱ τε* and Sanscrit *vah e ma* *vah ē ta* (from

* See Vater's *Language of the Old Prussians* pp. 104 and 107

vahuma, vahuta) But according to the view just developed, *wesz-ki-mé, wesz-ki-té*, is founded, not on *vah-ê-ma, vah-ê-la*, but on *vak-shî-mahu, vak-shî-dhvam*, apart from the middle terminations. The Lettish, however, in its imperatives, has retained, of the two modifications of the Sanscrit mood under discussion, the first, i.e. the form called potential, corresponding to the Greek optative present, and, in the second person plural, always uses *ai* or *ee* in the place of the indicative *a*, and thus *darrait*, "do ye" (*faciatis*), corresponds, in its relation to *darrat*, "ye do,"* admirably to the Gothic subjunctives like *lis-ai-ts*, "ye two may read," as contrasted with the indicative *lis-a-ts*. I give the dual, as this has the advantage of having, in the indicative, retained the old *a* in its original form, while in the plural *lisith*, as in general before a final *th*, that letter has become *i*. The two twin sisters, therefore, the Lithuanian and Lettish, complete one another's deficiencies in the imperative admirably, since the one supplies us with the Sanscrit potential, and the other with its aorist form, or the precative, and, in fact, furnishes us with the same method of formation (which is the more important) that is to be assigned peculiarly to the middle, and does not occur elsewhere in any other European cognate idiom, while, as has been said, the

* Though the form in *ait* or *ect* occurs in the indicative also, still here that in *at* is the prevailing and general one in the imperative, however, that in *ect* or *ait* is the only one, and therefore characteristic of the mood. The true pronunciation of the Lettish diphthong *ee* is hard to be perceived from the description given by Rosenbeiger, p. 6. It is sufficient, however, for our purpose here, that this diphthong is etymologically only a corruption of *ai*, and, like this, corresponds to the Sanscrit *ê* ($=a+i$), as, in *dews*, "God," = देवस् *dêva-s*, from दिव् *div*, "to shine", *ect*, "he goes," = एति *êti*, from ह् *i*, *smee-t*, "to laugh," in the root answers to the Sanscrit *smi*, whence by Guna, through insertion of an *a*, *smê*.

active process of formation in the Greek second aorist optative is reflected where in the third person plural *δοῖσσαν* is contrasted with the Sanscrit *deyasus* for *dayasant* and *δοῖεν* with the Zend *𐬔𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬢𐬀* *dāyann*

683 The second person singular of the Lettish imperative is always identical with the corresponding person of the indicative and here requires no further discussion and thus that which in Lithuanian was adduced as the third person imperative is nothing else than the third person of the indicative present which receives its modal function corresponding more with the subjunctive than the imperative by the prefix of the conjunction *te*. There are however some anomalous verbs which have a form differing from the indicative and this is in reality an unmistakable brother of the Sanscrit potential of the second conjugation or of the Greek optative present of the conjugation in *μι*. The personal character has (is usually happens in all tenses of the indicative) been dropped and thus *ie* corresponds to the Greek *η* Latin *iet* from *siet* and the Sanscrit Zend *yât yât*. For example *essie* corresponds to the Greek *ειη* (from *εσση*) to the Latin *siet* and Sanscrit *syat* but exceeds the Latin and Sanscrit in preserving the radical vowel (as in *essie* contrasted with *s mas sumus*) and the Greek *ειη* in retaining the consonant of the root which is however doubled as occurs in Lettish also in several persons of the indicative, e.g. in *essum* we are *essat* ye are

684 The Lithuanian *dudye* he may give answers to the Greek *διδωη* Sanscrit *dadyat* and Zend *dadhâyât*. The agreement with the two last forms however is the greater as the radical vowel is lost in the base itself thus *du die* for *dudye* as in Sanscrit *da dyat* for *dadhâyât* and in Zend *dadhâyât* for *dadhâyat*. The relation of *dudie* to the other unreduplicated persons of the imperative is *duki dukime* &c is exactly that of the potential in

Sanskrit and Zend to the precative, and in Greek that of the present optative to the aorist of that mood, thus, as दद्यात् *dadyāt* is related to दद्यात् *dā-yāt* (for *dāyāt*, middle *dā-sīšta*), or as in Zend 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 *dādhīāt* to 𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀 *dāyāt*, and in Greek διδοίη to δοίη, so is *dūdie*, “he may give,” to *dūki*, “give” In this lies a new, and, in fact, very strong proof, that the Lithuanian imperative in the third person of anomalous verbs belongs to the potential or optative present, but in the other persons to the precative or optative aorist, and that the *k* of *dūki* is identical with the *κ* of ἔδωκα and the *s* of *dāsīya* It is proper here to recall attention to the division of the Sanskrit tenses and moods into special and general The latter, to which belongs the precative, as, in Greek, the aorist, have the class-sign removed, which, in *dadāmi*, δίδωμι, and the Lithuanian *dūdu*, consists in the reduplication this, therefore, is wanting in *dēyāsam*, *dā-sīya*, δοίη, *dūki*, according to the same principle by which the verb under discussion forms, in the three languages, the future *dā-syām*, δώσω, *dū-su* The Lithuanian root *bu*, “to be” (=Sanskrit *bhū*), in consonance with this principle, forms, in the plural of the future, *bū-si-me*, and in that of the imperative, *bū-ki-me*, with which latter we would compare the corresponding Sanskrit precative form *bhav-i-shī-mahi* on the other hand, *buwa-ū*, “I was,” belongs to the special theme *abhavam* (§ 522) With regard, however, to Mielke’s second, third, and fourth conjugations preserving the class character in the imperative, this proceeds from their belonging to the Sanskrit tenth class, which extends its *ay* also to the general tenses; and from चुर *chur*, “to steal,” the precative middle is चोरयिषीय *chōr-ayi-shīya*, plural *chōr-ayi-shīmahī* The *i* of *ayi* is a conjunctive vowel, which in other classes, also frequently enters between the attributive root and the verb substantive. After rejecting this conjunctive vowel, *ay* would be of necessity

contracted to *ē* and then *chôr ē-shinatu* *chor-ē shumatu* would be identical with Lithuanian forms like *pen e-kūa* let us two nourish *pen e kime* let us nourish as regards the class syllable

685 The Lithuanian offers beside the imperative another mood which we must bring into comparison with the Sanskrit precativ — I mean the subjunctive which has only an imperfect to exhibit which we append in full from the root *du* to give with the addition of the corresponding form of the Lettish which is requisite in this place in order to understand the Lithuanian

SINGULAR		PLURAL		DUAL
LITHUAN	LETTISH	LITHUAN	LETTISH	LITHUAN
<i>duchiau</i>	<i>es dohtu</i>	<i>dutumbime</i>	<i>mehs dohtum</i>	<i>dūtumbiau</i>
<i>dātumber</i>	<i>tu dohtu</i>	<i>dātumbite</i>	<i>yus dohtut</i>	<i>dūtumbite</i>
<i>dutu</i>	<i>icinsch¹ dohtu</i>	<i>dutu</i>	<i>icinyngi dohtu</i>	<i>dutu</i>

¹ Feminine *icinyngs*

² Feminine *icinyngas*

The third person singular which as is universally the case in Lithuanian and Lettish represents at the same time the plural and in Lithuanian also the dual would considered of itself lead us to the Sanskrit imperative in which *dadātu* let him give is identical in termination with *dutu dohtu* and the phenomenon that the Lettish *dohtu* also passes as second and first person might be regarded as the consequence of an erroneous use of language like that by which in Old and Anglo Saxon the second person plural of the present and the third of the preterite have made their way into the other persons also Still I hold the *tu* under discussion not as a personal termination but as identical with the *tum* of the other persons and I regard *dutu* as an abbreviation of *dutumber* particularly as in the first person plural *dutum* may be used for *dutumbime* (Mielke p 113 b) in which case the *m*

is to be regarded as the character of the first person, and is not to be confounded with that which precedes the *b* in the full form *dūtumbime*. I deduce this from the Lettish, which has everywhere dislodged the syllable *bi*, together with the *m* preceding, but which combines the *tu*, which remains in the plural with the personal sign, but in the singular, as this number has in general lost the consonants of the terminations, leaves it without any addition, thus, *es, tu, unsh dohtu*. A clear intimation is thus given us, that also in the Lithuanian first person singular the form *dūchrau*, and such as resemble it, must be regarded as strongly mutilated, and I have no doubt that *dūchrau* has arisen from *dūtumbiau*, by suppressing the *umb*. Thus the *t* came into direct contact with several combined vowels, and therefore was necessarily changed into *ch*, according to a universal law of sound. The abbreviation of *dūtumbiau* to *dūchrau* (for *dūtau*) is not greater than that before mentioned of *dūtu(mbi)me* to *dūtum*, for *dūtume*. In both cases three letters have been omitted, in the first, *mb*, with the preceding vowel, in the second, with the vowel following.

686 The Lithuanian subjunctive is very important to me, as I recognise in the syllable *bi* the true exponent of the modal relation, and in this a more than casual coincidence with the expression of the Latin future of the first and second conjugation, which is in form completely the same. Compare *da-bimus* with *dūtum-bime*, *da-bitis* with *dūtum-bite*, *da-bis* with *dūtum-bez*, from *dūtum-bi-i*, *da-bo* for *dabio*, with the *dūtum-biau* presupposed above, and *dabit* with the *dūtum-bi* abbreviated to *dūtu*, likewise only supposed. The identification, however, of a Latin future form with the subjunctive of a cognate language will surprise us the less, as the Latin itself, within its own lingual province, places the future and subjunctive on the same footing in this point, that futures like *legēs, leget*,

legēmus legētis coincide in form with the subjunctives of the first conjugation

687 The *i* of the Lithuanian *bi* correspond there is scarce any doubt to the Sanscrit Zend modal character *yí* which in combination with *bhú* to be forms in the third person of the precative *भयद् bhuyát* *𑀧𑀭𑀯𑀭𑀮 buyát*. The Lithuanian has dropped the *n* of its root *bu* whether on account of its appearing in a contraction or because the *n* stood before a vowel while everywhere else it appeared before consonants the syllable *yd* however is retained pretty perfectly in the first person singular in *iau* and in the other persons on the contrary it is contracted to *i*. Compare *biau* (from *biam* see § 138) with the Zend *𑀧𑀭𑀯𑀭𑀮 buyanm* (from *buyám*) and *bime bile* from *buyame buyute* with *𑀧𑀭𑀯𑀭𑀮 buyáma 𑀧𑀭𑀯𑀭𑀮 buyata*. As regards the first part of the Lithuanian compound *datum bei* &c. we easily recognise in it the Sanscrit infinitive and the accusative of the Latin supine—*दत्तुम् dátum datum*. In its isolated state the Lithuanian supine ends in *tu* but the lost sign of the accusative has in the contraction been preserved in its original form under the protection of the auxiliary verb following and principally of the libral initial sound answering to *m* while everywhere else in Lithuanian the accusative *m* has become *n* (§ 149)

688 The Sanscrit first conjugation suppresses the *i* of the potential character *yi* both in the native and in the unddle *

* This suppression would be favoured by the facility with which the *y* vocalized to *i* becomes a diphthong with *a* preceding it. The prime inducement for it however was the effort to lighten the modal element in combination with a verbal theme which without that was of two or in the tenth class, of three syllables thus *b dhes* 'thou mayest know' for *bôdh-a yas* *I amayas* 'thou mayest love' for *kam aya yâs*. In the second conjugation the combination of the modal syllable *ya* with radical (there are no roots in short *a*) occurs only in monosyllabic verbal themes *e g bh i yam*. Roots of the third class however, as they become polysyllabic

and the *y* vocalized to *i* is contracted, with the preceding *a* of the class syllable, to *é*, *e. g.* भरेस् *bharés*, "thou mayest bear," for *bhar-a-yás*, as, in Greek, *φέποις* for *φεποιός* (*φερ-ο-ίης*) I am not, however, of opinion, that the diphthong, which is expressed, in Sanscrit by *र*, and now spoken as *é*, had in the earliest time, before the separation of languages, a pronunciation in which neither *a* nor *i* was perceptible, but it is most probable that the two elements were heard in combination, and spoken as *ai*, which *ai* may have been distinguished from the Viddhi diphthong *रे* *ái* by this, that the same breadth was not given to the pronunciation of the *a* sound that it has in *ái*. The same must have been the case with the *ó* it was pronounced like *au*, and its Viddhi (§. 29), like *ái*. For to keep to the *र* *é*, if this diphthong, was from the early period of the language taken as *é*, then the *i* sound, which had become utterly extinct as a whole, would scarcely, after the separation of languages, have again been restored to life in single members, and thus the whole make its appearance in Greek, at one time as *ai*, at another as *ei* or *oi* (see Vocalismus, pp 193, &c), in Zend at one time as *é* (or

polysyllabic by reduplication, lighten the roots by suppressing the *á*, as *dad-yām* for *dadā yām*, *jah-yām* for *jahā-yām* (compare § 482) The ninth class weakens its class syllable *nā* to *ní*, as before heavy personal terminations (§ 485); thus, *yu-nā-yām* for *yu-nā-yām*, and therefore the combination of the full modal exponent *yā* with the heaviest kind of vowel is, in polysyllabic themes, entirely avoided. The roots which annex *nu* or *u* do not suffer any weakening either in the base or in the modal character, for the *á* of *yā* cannot here be lost, since the *i* cannot become a diphthong with the *u* preceding the *u* of the class syllable, however, is not necessarily weakened, since *u* is itself one of the lighter vowels, hence, *áp-nu-yām*, "I may reach" To this would correspond, in Greek, forms like *δεικνύειν*, which, however, as it appears, are avoided on account of the difficulty of pronouncing them, and carried into the *ω* conjugation, while the remains of forms, which have remained true to their own conjugation, have suppressed the *i*, and, in compensation, lengthened the *u*, thus *επιδεικνύμην* for *επιδεικνύμην*

ai § 28) at another as *de* in Lithuanian in one place as *ai* in another as *ē* in Lettish now as *ai* now as *ē* or *ee* (see § 682 Rem) in Latin sometimes as *ae* as the next descent from *ai* sometimes as *ē*. But if before the separation of languages the diphthong still had its right pronunciation then each particular individual of the family of languages which arose after the separation may have either always or occasionally preserved in its full value the *ai* which had been brought with it from the land of its origin, or invariably or occasionally contracted it to *ē*, and as it is natural to derive *ē* from *ai* many of the cognate languages coincide in this process of melting down. While however the Sanscrit according to the pronunciation which has been received by us craves the diphthong *ai* when in a position before consonants to be invariably taken as *ē* the Greek exhibits the opposite extreme and displays to us the Sanscrit diphthong as *ai* *ei* or *oi* and in fact, as *oi* in the preceding case since the class vowel which in the indicative appears as *o* only before nasals in combination with the modal exponent *i* invariably assumes the *o* quality. The *η* however of the full modal exponent *in* as in Sanscrit the *ā* is suppressed thus *τερπ-οι* & *τερπ-οι-(τ)* answering to *tarp-ē-s* *tarp-ē t* *τερπ οι τον* *τερπ οι την* to *tarp-ē tam* *tarp-ē-tām*, *τερπ-οι μει* *τερπ-οι-τε* to *tarp-ē ma* *tarp-ē ta*.

689 It has been already remarked (§ 430) that the first person singular in *οιμι* is an unorganic form and that *τυπτοί μην* points to an active form *τυπτοιν*. When I first advanced this conjecture I was not aware that the form arrived at by theory has been actually transmitted to us though but in the single case of *τρεφοιν*. Besides this Matthiæ (§ 198 2) proposes to read *αμαρτοιν* instead of *αμαρτείν* in Suidas. We will leave it undecided here whether the forms *οιην* *οιης* &c. which occur in contracted verbs have preserved the original form and are thus more genuine than those in Sanscrit like *tarp-ē-s* for *tarp a yās* or whether as is more pro-

bable, they are carried back by the analogy of the μ conjugation. The Sanscrit interposes a euphonic γ between the diphthong \acute{e} , and, in the second conjugation, between the \acute{i} shortened from $\gamma\acute{i}$, and the personal terminations commencing with a vowel (§ 43), hence, *tarpé- γ -am*, answering to the Greek $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\pi\omicron\iota\mu\iota$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\pi\omicron\iota\nu$. Regarding the termination *am* for simple *m*, which would make the euphonic γ superfluous, and attest a form *tarpém* for *tarpé γ am*, see §. 137.

690 The Latin, in its subjunctives of the first conjugation, exhibits, like the Sanscrit in the form of \acute{e} , the diphthong which has arisen from the class syllable and the modal vowel ι , but in the first and third person singular, through the influence of the final *m* and *t*, this is shortened, thus, *amem*, *amet*, in opposition to *amês*, *amêmus*, *amêtis*. The kindred formation of these words with the Greek, like $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\pi\omicron\iota\mu\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\pi\omicron\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\pi\omicron\iota\tau\epsilon$, would perhaps never be discovered without the medium of the Sanscrit. But if *amês*, *amêt*, *amêmus*, *amêtis*, be compared with the Sanscrit forms of the same meaning, *kâmayês*, *kâmayêt*, *kâmayêma*, *kâmayêta*, it must be assumed that the last *a* of the class character अय *aya* (whence we have deduced the Latin \acute{a} ($=a+a$) of *amâ-re* (§ 109^a 6), by the dislodgement of the γ), has combined with the modal ι , while in the \acute{a} of *amâs*, *amâmus*, *amâtis*, the two *a* of *kâma-a(y)a-si*, *kâma-a(y)â-mus*, *kâma-a(y)a-tha*, are united. The \acute{e} , therefore, of *amês*, &c, corresponds to the Greek $\omicron\iota$ in forms like $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\varsigma$, $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\varsigma$, $\delta\eta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (§ 109^a 6), and the preceding short vowel is passed over. In the obsolete forms *verberet*, *temperint* (Struve, p 146), also, the first part of the diphthong \acute{e} ($=a+\iota$) has been lost, and only the pure modal element has been left. They may have arisen from the consciousness that an ι was bound up in the *e* of *verberet*, *temperent*, or they may have followed the principle of *sit*, *velit*, *edit* (§ 674.) On the other hand, *do* really belongs to the Sanscrit second conjugation and to the Greek in $\mu\iota$, and therefore *dum*, *perdum*, are regular forms.

the *i* of which corresponds to the Sanscrit *y* of *dad yām* and to the Greek *i* of *διδόσθι*. The weakening of the *a* to *u* in *dūm* rests perhaps on the circumstance that *ui* is a more favourite combination than *ai*.

691 In *monēus monedmus* &c. is contained the whole of the Sanscrit causal theme *man aya* to make to think (see p. 110) only that the properly long *ē* (from *a + i* = Sanscrit *ay*) is on account of its position shortened before a vowel the *i* of the modal expression has disappeared and in compensation the preceding vowel is lengthened according to the principle of Greek optatives with *υ* for *ui*. As therefore *ἐπιδεικνυμένην* for *ἐπιδεικνυμένη δαινύτο* *πηγνύτο* for *δαινύτο* *πηγνύτο* so *monēds* for *monenais*. On the other hand the case is the same with *carint* (Struve p. 116) for *careant* from *careant* as with the beforementioned *verberit temperit*.

692 The same relation that *monēds* has to *monēs* is held by *audiūs* from *audiats* to *audiς* (§§ 190 6 505). The future however which in the third and fourth conjugation is in fact nothing else than a subjunctive as was first remarked in my *System of Conjugation* (p. 98) with which Struve agrees (pp. 145 146) has preserved the modal element and has been contracted with the *a* of the class character to *e* with the exception of the first person singular in which *legem audiem* should stand for *legam audiam*. In the older language *dicem faciem* are actually transmitted to us by Quintilian as forms used by Cato Censor (compare Struve p. 147) and thus in the fourth conjugation forms like *audiem* may well have existed. As however in the proper subjunctive the first element of the diphthong *ai* has cast itself upon the *a* and lengthened that letter but in the future has been contracted with the *a* to *e* two forms have arisen from that which was originally one of which each has received a portion of that meaning to represent which properly belongs to the two together as in the history of language similar cases have often arisen and *datūri* and *datores* (I use

the plural intentionally) both conduct us to the Sanscrit *dātāras*, which unites the meaning of the two Latin forms in itself. The use of the subjunctive in the sense of a future reminds us of the periphrasis for the future by means of auxiliary verbs which signify "to be requisite," or "to will," as also of the occasional use of the Zend imperative in the sense of the future (see §. 660.). It is clear, however, that the expression of the future, from the most ancient period, has bordered with surprising closeness on the relation denoted by the Latin subjunctive, since the two are distinguished, in Sanscrit, only by the quantity of the vowel *ya* in the future, and *yā* in the potential.

693. The future and subjunctive of the Latin third conjugation may perhaps require a little further consideration, though what is most important to be observed respecting them is already deducible from what has been remarked regarding the second and fourth conjugations. Future forms like *vehēs*, *vehēmus*, have already appeared in my System of Conjugation as akin to the Sanscrit potentials like *rahēs*, *rahēma*, and Latin subjunctives as *amēs*, *amēmus*. But in the first conjugation the *ē* was firmly planted, for even if in its *ā* a contraction of the Sanscrit *aya* of the tenth class were not recognised, still the *ā* is clear to every one's eyes, and also the possibility of melting it down with the *i* of the subjunctive expression which follows to *ē*. But the *ē* of *vehēs*, *vehēmus*, appeared incomprehensible, or as a transmission from the third conjugation to the first, as long as the *i* of *veh-i-s*, *veh-i-mus*, passed as the original form of the class vowel of the third conjugation. Through the observation, however, made above (p. 104), according to which the intermediate vowel of the third conjugation is only a secondary *i* weakened from *a*, forms like *vehēs*, *vehēmus*, must now appear in a totally different light. Their *ē* contains the primitive *a*, which has become weakened in the indicative, as it occurs elsewhere also, that a word in composition has maintained

itself in a form more close to its original state than when isolated and unprotected*. Before the forms *veh a s ieh a mus* had become corrupted to *veh i s ieh i-mus* in the indicative *ieh é s veh é mus* had arisen from them and in the subjunctive *iehás iehámus* and the corruption of the class vowel of the indicative could have had no influence over that which was melted down with the modal character†

694 The Latin third conjugation leads us to the Gothic in which all the twelve classes of Grimm's strong conjugation coincide with the Latin third (§ 109* 1). The Gothic has however this advantage over the Latin that it has not admitted the corruption of the old *a* of the indicative throughout but only before a final *s* and *th* otherwise it has retained the *a*. We must therefore carefully avoid deriving the forms *bairais feras bairai feral bairai th feratis* from the indicative *bairis bairith bairith* by the insertion of an *a* which would imply a principle of formation quite unknown in the Indo-European family of languages but the said subjunctive forms must be regarded as the creations of a period in which their indicative prototypes were still *bairas bairath* to which also the passive forms *bair a za bair a da* as regards the intermediate vowel refer us (§ 466). In the second person of the dual and the first of the plural *bair ai ts bair ai ma* have the same relation to the indicative *bair a ts bair a m* that in Sanscrit *bhar é tam bhar é-ma* (from *bhar ai tam bhar ai-ma*) have to *bhar a thas bhar á mas* in the third person

* Thus the guttural of the Latin *facio* has been retained in the French *magnifique* while in *fais faisons* it has been corrupted to *s* or according to the pronunciation has been lost entirely in *fais*.

† I have brought forward this theory for the first time in the Berl Jahrb Jan 1834 pp 97 98 (see Vocalismus p 200) to which A Benary assents (Doctrine of Roman Sounds pp 27 28) who however derives the modal vowel *i* from *i* to go (Compare § 670)

plural *bai-ai-na* (transposed from *bai-ai-an*), "*ferant*," has the same relation to *bair-a-nd*, "*ferunt*," that the Zend 𐬵𐬀𐬰𐬭𐬀 *bai-ay-ēn* has to *bai-a-nti*, and the Greek $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-oi-cv}$ to $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-o-v}\tau\iota$. In the first person dual the relation of *bair-ai-va* to *bair-ōs*, from *bair-a-vas* (§. 441), rests on the same principle on which, in Sanscrit, that of *bhar-ē-va* to *bhar-ā-vas* is founded. In the first person singular *bairau*, "I may bear," the modal vowel *i* is wanting, but the *u* is the vocalization of the personal character *m*, *bairau*, therefore (from *bairaim*), has the same relation to *bairais*, *bairai*, &c., that, in Latin, the future *feram* (for *ferem*) has to *ferēs*, *feret*, from *ferais*, *ferat* * The Old High German exhibits the Gothic diphthong *ai* (= *ē*, see § 78) graphically in the form *ē*, but shortens it at the end of a word, hence, *berē* (for *berē*), "*feram*," "*ferat*," has the same relation to *berēs* (= Sanscrit *bharēs*, "*feras*," *berēmēs*, "*feramus*") that, in Latin, *amem*, *amet*, bear to *amēs*, *amēmus*.

695 The Old Prussian, a dialect which resembles the Lithuanian very closely, employs imperatives like *immais*, "take thou," *immati*, "take ye," which stand in a clearer relation to their indicative forms *imm-a-se*, *imm-a-ti*, than, in Gothic, *nim-ai-s*, "*sumas*," *nim-ai-th*, "*sumatis*," to *nim-i-s*, *nim-i-th*. Compare, on the other hand, the Lettish imperatives like *darrant*, "do ye," contrasted with *darrat*, "ye do" (§ 862) *Dais*, "give," *daiti*, "give ye" (in Old Prussian), contrasted with *dase*, "thou givest," *dati*,

* Respecting the length of the *ā*, see § 434

† With regard to the suppression of the *i* of *bairau*, compare, in Gothic, Grimm's third class of the weak conjugation, in which the *i* of the conjugational character *ai* (= Sanscrit अय *aya*, Latin *e*) is everywhere lost, where a final nasal, or one standing before a consonant, follows, or ought to follow, thus, first person singular, *haba* for *habai*, Old High German *habēm*, plural, *habam* for *habaim*, Old High German *habēmēs*, third person plural, *haband* for *habaand*, Old High German *habēnt*, in opposition to *habais*, *habarh*, &c.

ye give which furnish a commentary on the relation of the Latin *dēs dētis* to *das datis* as the contraction of *a + i* to the *ē* which is not perceived in Latin is evident in Old Prussian. More usually however the Old Prussian exhibits in the indicative *in e* or *i* as the conjunctive vowel and in the imperative the diphthong *ei* e g *derets* see = *δερκοις ideti* *esset* * = *cōorre editis* *αδιαν adyāla*. The two moods however do not everywhere agree since *tickinnaiti* make ye (Katech p 54) does not answer to *tickinnamai* we make (l c p 5) but leads us to expect instead of it *tickinnamai*. The simple *i* also or in its place *y* is found in Old Prussian imperatives as *mylis* love thou *enduris* regard thou.

696 The Old Slavonic has retained only the last element of the original diphthong *ai* in the second and third person singular in its imperative in the regular conjugation which as has been before shewn corresponds partly to the Sanscrit first class with *a* annexed (§ 499) partly to the fourth in *या ya* (§ 500) partly to the tenth in *अय aya* (§ 500) as *BEZII veži* carry and let him carry corresponds to the Sanscrit *vahés vahet* (§ 433) Latin *vehēs vehet* and *vehās vehat* Gothic *vigais viga* Greek *ἐχοις ἐχοι*. In the dual and plural however where the diphthong is protected by the following personal termination *ai ye* (from *e* with *y* prefixed § 255 n) corresponds to the Indo Roman *ai* Gothic *ai* and Greek *oi* thus *BEZAIMBI* *iežyemy* = *बहेम vahēma* *vehemus* *vehamus* *vigaima* *ἐχοιμεν* *BEZITTE* *iežyete*† = *बहन् vaheta* *vehetis* *vehatis* *vigaith* *ἐχοιτε* dual *BEZITAI* *iežyeta* = *बहेतु vahēt im* *बहेतु vahētām* *ἐχοιτο* *ἐχοιτη* *vigaith*.

697 Among the other Slavonic languages the Carminian especially deserves with respect to the mood under

* *It* he eats, euphonic for *idt* corresponds to the Latin *est*

† This represents the third person also see § 470

discussion, a closer consideration, as its imperative in those verbs which have *a* as the class syllable is distinguished from the present indicative by the placing a *y* ($=i$) beside the *a*, so that thus *ay* is opposed to the Sanscrit $\acute{e}=a+i$ of the potential, to the Gothic *ai* of the subjunctive, and to the Latin *ē* of the subjunctive and future. The singular, which, in Carniolan also, in advantageous contrast with the other Slavonic dialects, has a first person, ends in the three persons in *ai*, since the pronominal consonants, which, from the most ancient period, have stood at the end of words, must give place according to the rule for the extirpation of final consonants, which extends to all the Slavonic idioms (§ 255 l), hence, *dél-ay*, "I may," "thou mayest," "he may work," for *dél-ay-m*, *dél-ay-s*, *dél-ay-t*, opposed to the indicative *dél-a-m* (from *dél-a-mi*), *dél-a-sh* (from *dél-a-shi*), *dél-a* (from *dél-a-ti*), and, in accordance with Gothic forms like *bair-ai-s*, *bair-ai*, Sanscrit like *bharṛés*, *bharṛét*, Latin like *amem*, *amēs*, *amet*, *rehēs*, *rehet*, Greek like *φέροιμι*, *φέροις*, *φέροι*. In the dual, *dél-ay-na* answers to the indicative *dél-a-na*, in the most perfect accordance with the Gothic *bairawa* and Sanscrit *bharṛéva*, in the second person dual, *dél-ay-ta* has the same relation to the indicative *dél-a-ta*, that, in Gothic, *bair-ai-ts*, "*feratis*," has to *bair-a-ts* "*fertis*," and, in the plural, *dél-ay-mo* is to *dél-a-mo*ⁿ, as, in Gothic, *bair-ai-ma* to *bair-a-m*, or, in Greek, *φέρ-οι-μεν* to *φέρ-οι-τε*, in the second person, *dél-ay-te* bears the same relation to *dél-a-te* that, in Gothic, *bair-ai-th* to that which we must presuppose as the original form of the indicative *bair-a-th*, whence the corruption *bair-i-th* hence the Old High German *ber-ē-t* (from *ber-ai-t*), contrasted with its indicative *ber-a-t*, is better compared. The third person dual and plural is wanting in the Carniolan imperative, and is expressed by a periphrasis of the indicative with the conjunction *nay*, thus, *nay délata*, *nay délayo*.

698 The analogy however of the Carniolan forms like *del-ay mō* we may work with the Gothic like *bair aī ma* and Sanscrit like *bhar ē-ma* must not be so far extended as to identify the vowel of derivation of verbs like *del a m* with the conjunctive vowel of the Sanscrit first and sixth class and with that of the Gothic strong verbs. I rather see in *del-a m* as in the Polish first conjugation *czyt a m* I read *czyt-ay* read thou *czyt ay my* we may read the Sanscrit tenth class* the character of which *aya* has separated into various forms in the Slavonic idioms as in Latin and the German weak conjugation. The Carniolan *del a m* and Polish *czyt-a m* are brought much nearer to the Sanscrit like *chint aya mī*.

I think through the Russian sister forms *дѣлаю dye layu* *читают chitayūt* (from *dyel ayo m* *chit ayo m* see § 255 g) In the third person plural the Carniolan *delayo* and Polish *czytaya* approaches nearer to the Sanscrit *chint aya ntī* on the other hand the Carniolan *yedo* they eat corresponds to the Sanscrit *adanī* from the

* I now also refer Dobrowsky's first Conjugation in Old Slavonic (contrary to § 500) at least principally to the Sanscrit tenth class so that I assume the suppression of the first *a* of the character *aya* *य* as in Grimm's first conjugation of the weak form which by this loss has become similar to the Sanscrit fourth class (see § 109 6). The Old Slavonic however has also not unfrequently retained the first *a* of the character *aya* as in *padou* I fall *chitayu* I read (Dobr 5 2). In some roots ending with a vowel the *y* may be a euphonic addition and *знayu* I know (Sanskrit *jna* 'to know') *пѣю* I drink (Sanskrit *pa* to drink) may belong neither to the Sanscrit fourth nor to the tenth class but to the first with the insertion of a *y* between the root and the conjunctive vowel (compare § 43). I take this opportunity to remark further that in § 506 Mielke's fourth conjugation in Lithuanian has remained by mistake unnoticed. It includes but very few words but belongs in like manner to the Sanscrit tenth class and exhibits the character of that class *aya* clearly in its preterites as *yesh yau* (*yesh-ōya a*) In the present together with *yėszkau* is found also the form *yeshkoyu*.

root *ad*, the *d* of which in Carniolan is retained unchanged only in the third person plural, but before *t* has been changed to *s*, and elsewhere is dropped thus *yís-te*, "ye eat," as in Latin *es-tis*, for the Sanscrit *at-tha*, *yís-ta*, "ye two eat," "they two eat," for *अतश्च at-thas*, *अतश्च at-tas*. In the imperative, *yéy* for *yédy* answers to the Sanscrit *adyám*, *adyás*, *adyát*; dual *yéyva*, *yéyla* = *adyáva*, *adyátam*, plural *yéymo*, *yéyle* for *adyáma*, *adyáta*.

699 The Zend appears to us, in its potential and in the first conjugation, to use the expression, in a half Greek half Indo-Roman dress, since it exhibits the primitive diphthong *ai* at one time in the shape of *ói*, at another in that of *é* (§ 33), to which latter, however, according to § 28., another *a* is prefixed Thus *𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎* *baróis* agrees admirably with *φέροις*, and *𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎* *baróit* with *φέροι(τ)* on the other hand, in the middle voice the third person *𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎* *baraéta* agrees better with the Sanscrit *bharéla*, and, after withdrawing the middle *a*, with the Latin *feret*, than with *φέροιτο*. The first and second persons plural active in the first conjugation I am unable to quote, but I have no doubt that here again *𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎* *baraéma*, *𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎* *baraéta*, run parallel to the Sanscrit *bharéma*, *bharéla*, and Latin *ferémus*, *ferétis*, and that we should not look for the more Greek form *baróima*, *baróita*. For I imagine I have found that in selecting between *ói* and *aé* the Zend is guided by what follows the diphthong, according as it is a final consonant, or one accompanied by a vowel. How much the selection falls upon *ói*, in the former position, to the rejection of *aé*, is seen from this, that bases in *z* in the genitive and ablative regularly exhibit the forms *óis* and *óit*, answering to the Sanscrit *és*.* Through this, therefore, we may explain

* Remark, also, the frequently-occurring *𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬎* *nóit*, "not," = Sanscrit *nót*

the misrelation in form between the middle *baraēta* and the active *barōt* in the third person singular of the potential. But when we find in the first person plural middle the form *budhyomauidhē* *videamus* = Sanscrit *बुध्येमहि* *bludyēmahi* *sciamus* * here the exceedingly broad termination which in the lithographed Codex is even separated from the preceding part of the word by a point, may have the effect of a distinct word and thus it may be observed that in the final sound also the diphthong *oi* is admissible and in this position is especially favoured by a preceding *y* hence *yoī* which (oi) = ये *yē* *mauidhyoi* in medio (§ 196) = मध्ये *madhyē* but also *moi* to me *tōi* and *threōi* to thee *hōi* 'to him' with *me* *te* *thue* *he* I would therefore not deduce from *budhyomauidhē* forms like *barōmauidhē* still less an active *barōma* for in both forms the *y* which favours the *oi* is deficient and in the latter also the breadth of termination giving the appearance of a separate word for which reason in the third person singular not *budhyōta* but *būdhyāēta* answers to the *budhyōmauidhē* which has been mentioned (Vend S p 1.)

700 In the third person plural the old *a* of the original diphthong *ai* has been retained unaltered but the *i* has on account of the following vowel of the termination passed into its corresponding semivowel *y* and thus *barayen* answers to the Greek *φεποιεν* and thus for the one *oi* of the Greek optative in Zend we have according to the quality of the termination following three forms viz *oi* *ai* and *ay* I frequently however as the third person plural in the mood under discussion of the first active form can be quoted the first person singular is

* Vend S p 45 twice once erroneously *budhyomauidhē* and once *budhyoma dē*

on the contrary, of extremely rare occurrence, though it ought properly to be our point of starting. It must excite our curiosity to learn whether it resembles more the *φέρειν* which is to be pre-supposed in Greek, and which, § 689, we have found supported by *τρέφειν*, or rather Latin forms like *amem*, or Sanscrit as *bharê-y-am* (§ 43). As in the third person plural *barayēn* answers to the Sanscrit *bharê-y-us* (from *bharê-y-ant*), so in the first person singular *bara-y-ēm* might be expected for *bharêyam*. As, however, in Zend, if a *y* precedes the termination *ēm*, the *ē* is regularly suppressed, after which the semivowel becomes a vowel, so might *baraēm** or *barōm* be anticipated. Neither of these forms, however, occurs, but one with the personal character suppressed, and otherwise corresponding to the second person *𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 barōis*, and to the third *𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 barōit*, if the *𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 nēmoi*, which twice occurs Vendidad Sade p 359 is the correct reading, and there *𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 kanm nēmoī zanm* (which Anquetil translates "*quelle terre invoquerai-je*") really means literally (in all probability) "*qualem invocem terram?*"†. After this follows *𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 kutlīā nēmoī ayēni*, &c., according to Anquetil "*quelle prière choisirai-je*," perhaps literally, "whither shall I go (*𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 ayēni* = *𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 ayām*), that I may adore?" We look with eagerness for the light which may be thrown on this passage by the aid of Nirosengh's Sanscrit translation. Among the other potentials of the first conjugation which occur in the Vend S, we may here further mention the frequently-occurring *upa-zōit*, "he may beat," from the root *zan* = Sanscrit *हन्*

* According to the analogy of *vaēm*, "we," for the Sanscrit *vayam*, for after rejecting the *a* preceding the *m* the preceding *ay* must be melted down to *ē*, and, according to § 28, an *a* must be prefixed to the *ē*.

† Compare with *nēmoī* the Sanscrit *namas*, "adoration," from the root *nam*.

han which after rejecting the *n* of the preceding radical vowel, is treated as though it were the annexed vowel of the first class, in which respect may be observed what has been before remarked regarding the Sanscrit root स्था *sthā* (§ 503) And स्तेनयिष्यति *stēnayaṭi* he may strew (Vend S p 377) deserves special notice since in this word the class syllable *nd* (ninth class) after abbreviating the *d* follows the analogy of the short *a* of the four classes of the first conjugation and thus in this respect स्तेनयिष्यति *stēnayaṭi* after withdrawing the middle final *a* becomes similar to the Latin future *sternet* (§ 496)

701 In the second conjugation the *Zand* answers in its potential tolerably well to the Sanscrit with the exception of the third person plural in which the termination mentioned in § 162 does not occur and also in the middle the somewhat enigmatical termination *ran* (§ 613) is represented by a form which corresponds better to the general principle for the designation of the person regarding which we shall treat hereafter In the first person singular of the active according to § 61 *yam* corresponds to the Sanscrit *yām* and Greek *ἡ* i.e. the *daudhyanm*

I may place make already mentioned above (§ 112) corresponds to the Sanscrit दधाम *dadhām* and Greek *τιθάνν* In the second person according to § 56 is found *yāo* for यद् *yāḥ* *ἡ* e.g. *frā mruyāo* *dicas* = प्राब्रूयās *pra bruyās* (Vend S p 151) and in the third *yāt* = यद् *yāt* *ἡ* (τ) e.g. *krinuyāt* *faciat* (Vend S p 157) = कृण्वी *krinuvī* of the Veda dialect (p 117) I am unable to quote the plural in the proper potential though I can do so in the precative which has completely the same signification and which occurs far more frequently in *Zend* than in Sanscrit and is distinguished from the potential only by the removal of the class characteristics so that the form of the potential

may be safely inferred from the precativè In the first person plural *yâma* stands for the Sanscrit *yâsma* and Greek *ἡμεν*, e g. *ἡμεῖς* *buyâma** = Sanscrit *bhûyâsma* (Vend S p 312), and hence I deduce the potential *dardh-yâma* from the above-mentioned *dardhyann* In the second person, *yata* (with the vowel of the modal character shortened) stands for the Sanscrit *yâsta* and Greek *ἡτε*, e g. *ἡμεῖς* *buyata*, "sitis"† = *भूयस्ते* *bhûyâsta*; *ἡμεῖς* *dâyata* "detis"‡ = *देयस्ते* *dê-yâsta*, *δοίητε* Hence I deduce, in the potential, the form *dardhyata* = Sanscrit *dardhyâta*, Greek *δίδοιητε* Here the shortening of the syllable *yâ* is remarkable in comparison with the length of quantity preserved before the termination *ma* of the first person, and as this contrast can hardly be fortuitous, we must perhaps assume that the termination *ta*, on account of the mute with which it begins, is sustained with more difficulty by the language than the termination *ma*, which begins with the lightest consonants, and hence occasion has arisen for weakening the preceding syllable, in the sense of § 480

702 In the third person plural the combination of the modal syllable *yâ* with the personal termination *ën*, originally *an*, produces the form *yann* for *yân*, according to the analogy of the first person singular in *yanm* for *yâm*. Before the final nasal, therefore, the latter half of the long *â* = *a* + *a* has been weakened to the nasal sound of the Sanscrit Anusvâra We may take as an example *ἡμεῖς* *nidithyann*, "they may lay down" (Vend S pp 203, 204), for which I should have anticipated *nidathyann*, as, in the third person singular

* The root *bû* shortens its vowel in the precativè, compare Burnouf's Yacna, Note S, p 152

† Vend S, pp 115, 457, 459, and, according to Burnouf's Yacna, Note S p 152, in the still unedited part, p 556

‡ According to Burnouf, l c, in the still unedited part of the Vend S, pp 542, 543, 548

of the middle Zend *dāyann* *paiti ni dathula* he may lay down (Vend S p 282 ZZ 2 7 12 17) is found from the root *dath* from *dd* extended by the addition of a *th* (see p 112) which through the influence of the *y* following has received the addition of *n i*, which in *ni dithyann* above has remained alone From the root *dā* to give we should anticipate *dāyann* or perhaps with the radical vowel shortened *dayann* which comes very near to the Greek *δοῖν* while the Sanscrit *dēyāsus* (from *dēyāsant*) agrees more with *δομεσεν* The Sanscrit annexes as has been already remarked in its precativè the verb substantive to the root with the exception of the second and third person singular of the active in which properly *dēyās dēyast* would be required which in the present state of the language according to a strict law of sound (§ 91) is impossible and the language has therefore preferred rather to drop the auxiliary verb than the personal character thus *dēyās deyāt* answering to the Zend *dāydo dāyāt* It is however very worthy of remark that the Zend abstains entirely from employing the verb substantive and thus sides completely with the Greek only that the latter agrees in *δομεσαι* with the Sanscrit and in *δοῖεν* with the Zend

703 In the middle voice also the Zend precativè abstains from annexing the verb substantive and on the contrary according to the principle which the Sanscrit follows in the potential (§ 673) contracts the syllable *yā* to *i* and in the plural at least in the third person to short *i*. While therefore the Sanscrit and Lithuanian make common cause through forms like *du si dhram du lē te* (*delis dale*) the previously mentioned Zend form *pati-nidathita* ranks with the Greek *θεῖτο* since in both a simple *i* sound is combined with the root. I view the form *yaōsh dathuta* * which

* The last portion of this verb is radically identical with the just mentioned *panti m dathita* see § 637

class we are the less surprised at finding the Zend *dauthta* deficient in the *n*. This *dauthta* however appears to me to be a contraction of *dauth yata* since the modal element which we have seen above (§ 702) in the singular *dauthta* in the form of *an i* must in the plural become *y* before the termination *ata* which the Sanscrit requires in the secondary forms from *yata* however by casting out the *a* would easily be formed *ita* (Compare p 760). But if the termination of the third person plural had always been *ita* we should be unable to perceive any reason why the modal vowel should be long in the singular and short in the plural before the same termination.

[illegible]

qui mange les corps Il se lava ensuite le corps avec de l'urine de boeuf, avec de l'eau, et il sera pur" So much is certain, that mention is here made, not of one man, but of several (*tá nara yá*, "those men who," see § 231), and that *yaósh-dayann anhēn* signifies, not "he will be pure," but "they are purified," or "they become purified."* Hence, it is self-evident that *yaóshdauhuta*, also, must be a plural I translate verbatim, "How do those men become (are) purified who are touched by the carcase † either of a dead dog or of a man? To this Ormuzd said, They become purified where, or how (by what means? so that *yēna* would stand for *yá-vá* = Sanscrit येन वा *yéna vá*)? If that carcase touches them (?), either that of a body-devouring dog or of a body-devouring bird, then they (those men) should purify their bodies with cow urine and with water so (*aratha*)

* It may here be added to what has been remarked in § 637 regarding the expression *yaóshdayann*, that it might also be the third person plural of the precative, the *á* of the root *dá*, "to make," being shortened, and the analogy of *buyann*, "they may be," being followed (see § 702 and Burnouf's *Yagna*, Note S, p 152) The placing together of two verbs in the third person plural would consequently rest on a syntactical peculiarity, and *yaóshdayann anhēn*, "they are purified," would literally signify "they are (that) they purify" The passive signification would be expressed by a periphrasis, in which the verb substantive would be combined with the active expression of the attributive verb To this opinion I give the preference above that delivered in § 637, and I remind the reader, that, in Arabic, the imperfect is expressed by a circumlocution, in which the preterite of the verb substantive is prefixed to the present of the attributive verb, without the intervention of a conjunction, e g كَان يَجْلِسُ *kāna yajlisu*, "he sate," properly "he was he sits," for "he was that he sits" At the end of the passage quoted above *yaóshdayann* (to which the preposition *pati* = Sanscrit *prati*, belongs) is indisputably the precative

† I will not affirm that *ava bēřta* (from *bēřta*, "borne," in combination with the preposition *ava*) here signifies "touched", but hitherto I

must they purify them At pp 268 L 9 &c we read
 Դժկէ փնայ սրահասցեանք միայն ճշարտ հոսս Դհաս
 Դհաս / Բնասլայմանն հմելան լիւս սրահայ սյահառահ
 հոսանք Դհաս սրահասն Դժկէ սրահայ լիւս Դհա
 սրահիւղջ սրահասցեանքս ճշարտ հոսս dat hramm
 tanum pairi-yaoshdathuta apō (?) nobit maēmana zasta
 hê* paḍirim frasnādhayen dat yat hē zasta noit frasnāto
 dat vispanm hraum tanum ayaoshdathuta kerenōta i c

Then they should purify their bodies with water not with urine they should first purify their hands for if their hands are not purified then they make impure their whole bodies Here it is plain from the palpable plural *frasnádhayen* that *yaóshdathuta* also is no other than a plural *ယာဝ်းသုတ်သုတ်ယာဝ်း* *ayaóshdathuta* is likewise the third person plural of the preterite in combination with the negative particle *a* But as above in a peculiar construction (*yaosh dayann anhen* see p 944 Rem *) we saw the passive expressed by a circumlocution of an active expression in combination with the verb substantive so in *ယာဝ်းသုတ်သုတ်ယာဝ်း* *ayaóshdathuta kere noita* we see the active expressed by means of the auxiliary verb to make *Ayaoshdathuta kerenoitá* they make impure they make (properly *contaminant faciant*) should signify nothing else than they make impure and is the opposite to the above mentioned passive *yaoshdayann anhen* where *anhen* (= *ယာဝ်း* *Asan* they were) has a modal function and replaces the potential (see § 520) The present *henti* would scarcely be admissible here though we could exchange *anhen* for the present indicative In *ayaoshdathuta kerenoitá* both verbs are in the

* From this *hē 'su* we see that the Zend reflexive like the hundred Latin German Lithuanian and Slavonic unites with the form of the singular the meanings of the plural numbers

704 In a still unedited portion of the Zend-Avesta occurs the form 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀 *dayadhuēm*, "ye may give," which Burnouf (*Yaçna*, Note D p 38), as it appears, regards as an imperative, and renders by *donnez*. In order, however, to regard *dayadhwēm* as the imperative, we must be able to prove that the root *dā*, in Zend, is inflected according to the fourth class, of which I entertain

704 In a still unedited portion of the Zend-Avesta occurs the form 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀𐬨𐬀 *dayadhvēm*, "ye may give," which Burnouf (*Yaçna*, Note D p 38), as it appears, regards as an imperative, and renders by *donnez*. In order, however, to regard *dayadhvēm* as the imperative, we must be able to prove that the root *dā*, in Zend, is inflected according to the fourth class, of which I entertain

doubts. I look upon दयधुमः *dayadhuem* as the second person plural of the precative middle and as such there is nothing surprising in it (after our having already seen that the Zend precative in both active forms abstains from annexing the verb substantive) except that the modal character *yā* is not contracted as in the third person singular middle and in all persons in the Sanskrit to *i*, but has merely shortened its *d* as in the corresponding person of the active to which Burnouf has shewn the form *dāyata* belongs. The middle *dayadhuem* has shortened the vowel of the root on account as it appears of the greater weight of the termination and in this respect therefore *dayadhuem* has the same relation to *dāyata* that in Greek $\delta\dot{\iota}\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ has to $\delta\dot{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota$.

70. In the Sanskrit and Zend potential there is no distinction of tenses except that as has been before observed the precative stands in the same relation to it that in Greek the optative of the second aorist does to that of the present. *Dē yās dē yāt* for *dā yās dā yāt* has the same relation to *adās addt* that in Greek $\delta\omega\eta\varsigma \delta\omega\eta$ (for $\delta\omega\eta\varsigma \delta\omega\eta$) have to $\epsilon\delta\omega\varsigma \epsilon\delta\omega$. For precatives like *budhyās budhyāt* there are no corresponding indicative forms as the fifth formation of the Sanskrit aorist is limited to roots terminating with a vowel (see § 573) it may however originally have occurred also in roots ending with a consonant so that there would have existed multifarious preterites like *abudh am abhut* (for *abhut s*) *abhut* (for *abhut t*) *abudhma* &c. to which belong precatives like *budh yāsam*. Veda forms like *vidēyam* 'sciam *sakēyam* 'possim *gamēyam* *cam* *vidhēma* *dicamur* (Pāṇini III 1 86) do not need to be regarded as potentials of the first class to which the roots of these forms do not belong but they are as it were the prototypes of Greek aorists of the optative mood like $\tau\upsilon\pi\omicron\iota\mu\iota$ and must be regarded as derivatives of the aorists of the sixth formation (*avidam*

aśakam, *agamam*, *avācham*), the conjunctive vowel of which has combined with the modal vowel *i*, just as the Greek *o* of *τύποιμι* has united the conjunctive vowel of *ἵτυπ-ο-ν* (which is interchanged in the indicative with *c*) with the modal vowel. In proof of the correctness of this opinion may be particularly adduced the abovementioned *īchēma*, "*dicamus*", for there is no other root *vōch*, which, if it existed, could be assigned to the first class, from which might be formed *vōchēma*, according to the analogy of *tarpēma*, *τέρποιμεν*; there is, indeed, an aorist *avōcham*, which we have explained above as a reduplicate form from *a-va-ucham* (for *a-varacham*)

706 In the Vēda dialect also exist traces of modal forms, which exhibit the construction of the Greek optative of the first aorist. For example, *tarushēma*, according to the sense = *tarēma*, "*transgredhamur*" (Pāṇini, III 1 85), but, according to form, a derivative from an indicative aorist like *adik-sham*, *ἄδικῃ* (§ 555), only not with the direct adjunction of the auxiliary verb, but with the insertion of a conjunctive vowel *u*. But this *tarushēma* can hardly be an isolated attempt of the language at a modal formation, which now appears to us abnormal, but it is probable, rather, that, in an earlier state of the language, which has in this point been transmitted to us more correctly by the Greek, these forms extended to all aorists of the second formation (§ 551). We may suppose, therefore, that, in an earlier period of the language, a precativē of *adiksham* existed, *dik-shēyam*, plural *dik-shēma* = *δείξαιμι*, *δείξαμεν*, in which the modal element *yā*, contracted to *i*, became a diphthong with the preceding vowel, in the same manner as above in *bhar-ē-y-am*, *bhar-ē-ma*, *φέρ-οι-μι*, *φέρ-οι-μεν*

707 In Latin, the imperfects of the subjunctive admit of comparison with the principle of formation of Greek aorists like *δείξαμεν*, and Sanscrit like the presupposed

dik shauma and the Vedā *tarushema*. In fact *sta remus* is surprisingly similar to the Greek *στησαιμεν* in so far as its *r* like that of *eram* is a corruption of *s* and its *e* like that of *amemus legemus* a contraction of *ai*. As however *sta bam* is a new compound I cannot but recognise in its subjunctive also a new formation, and in this respect I adhere to the opinion which I have already expressed in my System of Conjugation (p 99). A subjunctive *sta bem* from *sta-baum* would be in conformity with the indicative *sta bam* and *sta-ram* from *sta eram* would be analogous as an indicative to *sta-rem*. The language however divides the two roots of *to be* at its disposal between the indicative and subjunctive and thus brings *sta bam* and *sta rem* into a certain degree of false relation where it appears as if the *r* of *starem* had a share in the expression of the modal relation which is nevertheless confined to the *i* alone that is contained in the diphthong *e*. It will be readily admitted that *possem* (from *potsem*) contains the combination of the verb substantive with *pot* just as much as *pos sum* and *pot eram*. But if *pos sem* is a new and genuine Latin formation the *es sem* *I ate* which is analogous to it from *ed-sem* is so also and with this agrees too the obsolete *fac sem* which in form at least is an imperfect as *fac-sum* is a present for if these forms had arisen from the perfect *fecit* they would be *fecem fecim*. While then after consonants the old *s* is either retained or assimilated to a preceding *r* or *l* (*fer rem vel lem*) between two vowels it has passed into *r*, and this is usually the case as the imperfect preserves the class syllable thus *leg e-rem dic e-rem* (from *leg i-rem dic i-rem* see § 554). But if the imperfect subjunctive were in its origin connected with the Greek optative aorist then for *dic e-rem* we should anticipate *dixem* = *δειξαίμην*. The forms *es-sem* (*I ate*) and *fer-rem* are established by the circumstance that these verbs as is shewn by their affinity with the Sanscrit, dis

tinctly belong to the conjugation without the conjunctive vowel, so that *es-sem* agrees with *ē-s*, *es-t*, *es-tis* = Sanscrit *at-si*, *at-ti*, *at-tha*, *fer-rem* with *fer-s*, *fer-t*, *fer-tis* = Sanscrit *bibhar-shi*, *bibhar-ti*, *bibhar-tha*. Hence we see that it is in no way admissible to derive *fer-rem* from *fer-e-rem*, by rejecting an *e*. We should rather be compelled to explain *fer-e-rem*, if this form existed, by including it in the principal conjugation with the conjunctive vowel, as from *es-sem* has been developed *ed-e-rem*.

708. But how stands it with *es-sem*, "I would be," for which we should have conjectured *erem*, corresponding with the indicative *eram*? But *eram* stands for *esam* = Sanscrit *āsam* (§ 532), and from this primitive form *esam* has arisen the form *esem* (from *esēm*), through the commixture of the modal *z*, which is contracted with *a* to *ē*, according to the same principle by which *amem* has been formed from the theme *ama*. If *esem* had once been formed from *esam*, then, in the course of time, the indicative parent form may have followed its disposition to change the *s*, on account of its position between two vowels, into *r*, without there being hence a necessity that the derivative form *esem*, also, should follow this impulse, for it is not a general rule in Latin that every *s* between two vowels must be changed into *r*. Through the firm retention, therefore, by the subjunctive, of the old, and subsequently doubled sibilant, *eram* and *esem*, *essem*, stand in the same opposition as, conversely, in Old High German, *was*, "I was," does to *uârî*, "I would be," in which the weakening of the *s* to *r* has its foundation in the increase of syllables (see § 612). The doubling of the *s* in *essem* I believe may be explained according to the same principle by which, in Greek, in the epic language, the weakest consonants (the liquids and σ) occasionally, and under certain circumstances, ρ are, in the common dialect, regularly doubled. The Sanscrit doubles a final *n*

after a short vowel in case the word following begins with a vowel. If then which I believe to be the case the doubling of the *s* in the Latin *essem* and in the infinitive *esse* is likewise purely of a euphonic nature it may be compared especially with Greek aorists like *ετελεσσα* since the *σσ* of these tenses likewise belong to the verb substantive. observe also the Lithuanian *essie* 'he may be' (§ 474). Regarding *ἔσσομαι* see § 635. But should the double *s* in *essem* have its foundation in etymology which I do not believe then it must be assumed that when the *esem* which arose from *esam* had firmly attached itself to attributive verbs in the abbreviated form of *sem* or more generally *rem* and in this position was recognised as nothing else than it really is so that the whole *sé ré* was considered as the modal exponent then the root *es* combined with itself according to which *essem* would properly mean

I would be in analogy with *es sem* I would eat and *pos sem* I would be able. And the analogy of *es-sem*

I ate and *possem* I could as also that of *ferrem* and *vellem* might have so far operated on *essem*. I would be that according to then example without the languages furnishing any particular reason for it the consonant preceeding the *e* was doubled. Be this as it may *essem* and the *esem* preceeding it remain in so far a new formation as in the Sanskrit no mood whatever proceeds from the imperfect any more than in Greek. The Latin subjunctive therefore of the imperfect meets with its nearest point of comparison only in the Greek optative aorist since *esem* (*eram*) is produced from *esam* just as *τυψαιμι* from *ετυψα*.

709 No trace of the production of moods can be shewn to attach to the Sanskrit reduplicate preterite or perfect *

* I do not agree with Westergaard in regarding Veda forms like
सावि *ज्ज* *t*

As, however, the potential of the second and sixth aorist formation in the Vêda dialect is, as it were in its moment of extinction, still to be met with in its remnants as *tarushêma*, *gamêyam*, *vôchêyam* (§ 705.), it might be assumed that the extirpation of the moods, which have arisen from the reduplicate preterite, only made its appearance somewhat earlier, or that the relics of them, which have remained to the period when the Vêdas were composed, may be lost to us, together with the memorials in which they occurred. But if there existed a potential of the perfect, it is a question whether the conjunctive vowel *a* (see § 614.) was retained before the modal element or not? In the former case, forms like *tu-tupéy-am*, *tutupé-s*, *tutupé-t*, would have arisen, to which would correspond the Greek *τετύφοιμι* (from *τετύφουν*, see § 689.), *τετύφοις*, *τετύφοι* (whence might be expected, also, *τετύφαιμι*, &c.) in the latter case, forms like *tutupyâm* would have existed, as prototypes of the Gothic subjunctives of the preterite like *haihartiau*, "I might be called," or with the loss of reduplication, as *bundyau*, "I might bind," which would lead us to expect Greek forms like *τετυφίην*, which must afterwards have been introduced into the ω conjugation. The close coincidence of the Greek and German forms makes the origin of such modal forms in the time of the unity of language very

sasryyât as potentials of the perfect, but of the intensive (comp. § 515), which, in the Vêda dialect, presents several deviations from the classical language, and in roots with middle *ri* (from *ar*) exhibits in the syllable of repetition *a*, more frequently *â*, and also, in conformity with the common dialect, *ar* thus *vâvridhâti* (Rig V. 33. 1) is the *Lât* of the intensive, and *vâvridhasva* (Rig V. 31. 18) its imperfect middle. Westergaard also refers the participle present middle *tâtishâna*, "thirsting" (Rig V. 31. 7), to the intensive, though it might be ascribed to the perfect with the same justice as *sasryyât* and *vâvridhasva*.

probable the Gothic forms also like *haihaityan* are too classical in their appearance to allow of our ascribing to them a comparatively recent origin. But if nevertheless they are specially German and the Greek, as is known of a few like *τετυφειμι* specially Greek, then the two sister languages have in fortuitous coincidence only accorded a wider extension to a principle of modal production which already existed in the period of their unity with the Sanskrit and Zend.

710 Latin perfect subjunctives like *amare-rim* from *ama* + *rim* are nevertheless new productions viz. the combination of the base of the perfect with *rim* 'I may be' the *r* of which in its position between two vowels has been corrupted to *r* and on account of this *r*, the *i* of *amari amari si* has been corrupted to *e* (compare p. 907). We might also if necessitated divide thus *amar-erim** as *rim* stands for *esim* like *sum* for *esum*. But in composition there was still more reason to withdraw the *e* of *esim* than in the uncompounded state, and the corruption of the *i* to *e* before an *r* is too much in rule not to admit of it here.

711 We here give a general view of the points of comparison which have been obtained in treating of the Sanskrit and Zend potential and precative and of the moods corresponding to them of the European sister languages.

SINGULAR

SAN CRIT	ZEND	GREEK	LATIN	ITH	OLD SLAV
<i>dadyam</i> ¹	<i>daidhyanm</i> ²	<i>διδόειν</i>	<i>dum</i> ³		
<i>dadyās</i>	<i>daidhyāo</i>	<i>διδόεις</i>	<i>dms</i>		<i>dashdy</i> ⁴
<i>dadyat</i>	<i>daidhyāt</i>	<i>διδόει</i>	<i>dut</i>	<i>dudie</i> ⁵	<i>dashdy</i> ⁵
<i>dadita</i> ⁶	<i>daidita</i> ⁷	<i>διδόειτο</i>			

* So in my System of Conjugation p. 100

DUAL

SANSKRIT	GRND	GRIK	LATIN	LIH	OLD SLAV
<i>dadyāna</i> ,					<i>dashdyna</i> .
<i>dadyātam</i> ,		διδοίητον,	.		<i>dashdyta</i>
<i>dadyātām</i> ,		διδοίητην,			<i>dashdyta</i> .

PLURAL.

<i>dadyāma</i> ,	<i>dadyāma</i> ,	διδοίμεν,	<i>duīmus</i> ,		<i>dashdymy</i>
<i>dadyāta</i> ,	<i>dadyāta</i> ⁸ ,	διδοίητε,	<i>duītis</i> ,		<i>dashdyte</i>
<i>dadyus</i> ⁹ ,	<i>dadyus</i> ¹⁰ ,	διδοίεν,	<i>duint</i>	.	like 2d p
<i>dadyān</i> ¹²	<i>dadyān</i> ¹³ ,	διδοίντο,			

¹ For *dadyāma*, see § 672 ² § 412, Remark 5, and § 701
³ § 674 ⁴ § 677 ⁵ § 684 ⁶ I give only the third person
singular and plural of the middle, and for the rest I refer the reader to the
doctrine of middle terminations, §§ 466 &c, and to the conjugation of
adya ⁷ § 703 ⁸ § 701. ⁹ § 162 ¹⁰ § 702
¹¹ § 470 ¹² § 613 ¹³ § 703

SINGULAR

SANSKRIT	LATIN	GOTHIC	OHG	OLD SLAV
<i>adyām</i> , act	<i>adīya</i> , mid ¹	<i>edim</i> , ²	<i>ētyau</i> , ³	<i>āzi</i> ,
<i>adyās</i> , act	<i>adīthās</i> , mid	<i>edīs</i> ,	<i>ēleis</i> ,	<i>āzīs</i> ,
<i>adyāt</i> , act	<i>adīta</i> , mid	<i>edit</i> ,	<i>ēti</i> ,	<i>āzi</i> ,

DUAL

<i>adyāva</i> , act	<i>adīva</i> , mid	.	<i>ēteva</i> ,	<i>yashdyva</i>
<i>adyātam</i> , act	<i>adīyāthām</i> , mid		<i>ēteits</i> ,	<i>yashdyta</i>
<i>adyātām</i> , act	<i>adīyātām</i> , mid.			<i>yashdyta</i>

PLURAL

<i>adyāma</i> , act	<i>adīma</i> , mid	<i>edīmus</i> ,	<i>ēteima</i> ,	<i>āzīmēs</i> ,	<i>yashdymy</i>
<i>adyāta</i> , act	<i>adīdhvam</i> , mid	<i>edītis</i> ,	<i>ēteith</i> ,	<i>āzīt</i> ,	<i>yashdyte</i>
<i>adyus</i> , act	<i>adīran</i> , mid	<i>edint</i> ,	<i>ēteina</i> ,	<i>āzīn</i> ,	like 2d p

¹ The middle of *ad* is not used in the present state of the language,
which, however, does not prevent us from annexing it here on account of
the theory ² § 674 ³ §§ 675 676 ⁴ § 677

SINGULAR			DUAL	
SANSKRIT	ZEND	GREEK	SANSKRIT	GREEK
<i>dēy isam</i> ¹	<i>dāyamin</i> ²	δοιη	<i>dēyāśra</i>	
<i>dēyās</i> ³	<i>dāyāu</i>	δοιης	<i>dēyāśtām</i>	δοιητοι
<i>dēyāt</i> ³	<i>dāyāt</i>	δοιη	<i>dēyāśtām</i>	δοιητηι

PLURAL

SANSKRIT	ZEND	GREEK
<i>dēyāśma</i>	<i>dāyāma</i>	δοιημει
<i>dēyāśta</i>	<i>dāyāta</i> ⁴	δοιητε.
<i>dēyāśus</i>	<i>dāyann</i>	δοίει δοιησαι

¹ For *d ya am* see § 600² I believe I am right in giving this form instead of the *djanmi* mentioned in § 600³ § 703 conclusion⁴ For *dāyāta* see § 701

SINGULAR		DUAL	
SAN CRIT	LITH	SANSKRIT	LITH
<i>dāsi y-a,</i>		<i>dāsi iahi</i>	<i>dāki iai</i> ¹
<i>dāsi shthās</i> ²	<i>duki</i>	<i>dāsi y-āsthām</i>	<i>dāki ia</i>
<i>dāsi shtha</i>		<i>dāsi y-āstām</i> ²	

PLURAL

SANSKRIT	LITH
<i>dāsi mahi</i>	<i>duki me</i>
<i>dāsi dhīam</i>	<i>duki te</i>
<i>dāsi-ran</i>	

See §§ 699 680

² § 649

SINGULAR

SANSKRIT.	ZLND	GREEK	LATIN	GOOTHIC	O H G
<i>bharê-y-am</i> , ¹	<i>barôî</i> , ²	(φέροι-ν,) <i>feram</i> , ¹		<i>baira-u</i> , ⁵	<i>bere</i> , ⁶
<i>bharê-s</i> ,	<i>barôî-s</i> , ⁷	φέροι-ς, { <i>ferê-s</i> , ¹ <i>ferâ-s</i> ,		} <i>bairai-s</i> ,	<i>berî-s</i> ,
<i>bharê-t</i> ,	<i>barôî-t</i> ,	φέροι-(τ), { <i>fere-t</i> , <i>fera-t</i> ,		} <i>bairai</i> ,	<i>bere</i> , ⁶
<i>bharê-ta</i> ,	<i>baraê-ta</i> ,	φέροι-το,	.	<i>bairai-dau</i> , ⁸	.

DUAL

<i>bharê-va</i> ,	.	.	.	<i>bairai-va</i> ,	
<i>bharê-tam</i> ,		φέροι-τον,		<i>bairai-ts</i> ,	
<i>bharê-tâm</i> ,		φέροι-την,		.	..

PLURAL

<i>bharê-ma</i> ,	<i>baraê-ma</i> , ⁹	φέροι-μιν, { <i>ferê-mus</i> , <i>ferâ-mus</i> ,		} <i>bairai-ma</i> ,	<i>berê-mês</i> ,
<i>bharê-ta</i> ,	<i>baraê-ta</i> , ⁹	φέροι-τε, { <i>ferê-tis</i> , <i>ferâ-tis</i> ,		} <i>bairai-th</i> ,	<i>berê-t</i> ,
<i>bharê-y-us</i> ,	<i>baray-ën</i> ,	φέροι-εν, { <i>fere-nt</i> , <i>fera-nt</i> ,		} <i>bairai-na</i> ,	<i>berê-n</i> ,
<i>bharê-ran</i> ,	<i>baray-anta</i> ²	φέροι-ντο,	.	<i>bairai-ndau</i> , ⁸	.

SINGULAR

SANSKRIT	ZEND	GREEK	LATIN	GOTh	OLD SLAV
<i>vahé-y am</i> ¹	<i>va-oi</i> ²	(ἐχούι) ³	<i>veham</i> ⁴	<i>viga u</i> ⁵	
<i>vahé-s</i>	<i>va-oi s</i> ⁷	ἐχούις	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vehé s}^4 \\ \text{vehá s} \end{array} \right\}$	<i>vigai s</i>	<i>veži</i> ¹⁰
<i>vahé-t</i>	<i>va-oi t</i>	ἐχούι	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vehé t} \\ \text{vehá t} \end{array} \right\}$	<i>vigai</i>	<i>veži</i> ¹⁰
<i>vahé ta</i>	<i>vazae ta</i>	ἐχούι το		<i>vigai-dau</i> ⁸	

DUAL

<i>vahé va</i>				<i>vigai-ia</i>	<i>vežye-ia</i>
<i>vahé tam</i>		ἐχούι-τον		<i>vigai ts</i>	<i>vežye ta</i>
<i>vahé tām</i>		ἐχούι-την			<i>vežye ta</i>

PLURAL

<i>vahé-ma</i>	<i>vazae-ma</i> ⁹	ἐχούι μεν	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vehé mus} \\ \text{vehá mus} \end{array} \right\}$	<i>vigai-ma</i>	<i>vežye-m</i> ¹¹
<i>vahé ta</i>	<i>vazae ta</i> ⁹	ἐχούι-τε	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{vehé-tis} \\ \text{vehá tis} \end{array} \right\}$	<i>vigai-th</i>	<i>vežye-te</i>
<i>vahé y us</i>	<i>vazay en</i>	ἐχούι εν	<i>vehé nt</i>	<i>vigai-na</i>	like 2d p
<i>vahé ran</i>	<i>vazay anta?</i>	ἐχούι ντο		<i>vigain dau</i> ⁸	

¹ §§ 688 689 ² § 700 ³ § 689 ⁴ §§ 691 692
 693 ⁵ § 694 ⁶ § 694 conclusion ⁷ § 699 § 468
⁹ § 706 ¹⁰ § 696 ¹¹ § 696 in which we ought to read
 BEŽBM vežyem for BEŽBM vežyemy

SINGULAR

PLURAL

SANSKRIT	LATIN	SANSKRIT	LATIN
<i>tishthe-y am</i>	<i>ste m</i>	<i>tishthe-ma</i>	<i>ste-mus</i>
<i>tishthe-s</i>	<i>sté s</i>	<i>tishthe ta</i>	<i>ste tis</i>
<i>tishthé-t</i>	<i>ste-t</i>	<i>tishthe-y us</i>	<i>ste-nt</i>

SINGULAR

PRESENT.

POTENTIAL IMPERATIVE

<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Carniolan</i>	<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Carniolan</i>
<i>smayā-mi</i> , ¹	<i>smèya-m</i> ,	<i>smayai-y-am</i> , ²	<i>smèyay-(m)</i> ³
<i>smaya-si</i> ,	<i>smèya-sh</i> ,	<i>smayai-s</i> ,	<i>smèyay(s)</i>
<i>smaya-ti</i> ,	<i>smèya-(t)</i> ,	<i>smayai-t</i> ,	<i>smèyay(t)</i>

DUAL

<i>smayā-vas</i> ,	<i>smèya-va</i> ,	<i>smayai-va</i> ,	<i>smèyay-va</i>
<i>smayā-thas</i> ,	<i>smèya-ta</i>	<i>smayai-tam</i> ,	<i>smèyay-ta</i>
<i>smaya-tas</i> ,	<i>smèya-ta</i> ,	<i>smayai-tām</i> ,	<i>smèyay-ta</i> ⁴

PLURAL

<i>smayā-mas</i> ,	<i>smèya-mo</i> ,	<i>smayai-ma</i> ,	<i>smèyay-mo</i>
<i>smaya-tha</i> ,	<i>smèya-te</i> ,	<i>smayai-ta</i> ,	<i>smèyay-te</i>
<i>smaya-nti</i> ,	<i>smèyay-o</i> , ⁵	<i>smayai-y-us</i> ,	

¹ The active of *smi*, "to laugh," which, by Guna, forms *smi*, and hence, with *a* the class vowel, *smaya*, is not used in the present state of the language, and stands here only on account of the surprising resemblance between *smayāmi* (= *smayāmi*) and the Carniolan word of the same meaning, *smèyam* (see, however, N^o 5), as also between the potential *smayāyam* = *smayayam* and the Carniolan imperative *smèyay(m)*, &c

² I here express the Sanscrit diphthong *ai*, according to its etymological value, by *ai*, in order to exhibit the more clearly the remarkable analogy of the Sanscrit potential to the Carniolan imperative (see § 697)

³ The diphthong *ai* is expressed in Carniolan by *ay*. Regarding the loss of the personal terminations and the similarity of the three persons singular which proceeds from it, see § 697

⁴ Is expressed by a periphrasis formed of the present indicative with the particle *nay*

⁵ Regarding the *y* preceding the termination *o* see § 698, but if the *y* of *smèyay-o* is connected with *aya*, the characteristic of the Sanscrit tenth class, as is usually the case in verbs in *am*, then *smèy-am* is properly based, not on *smayāmi* of the first class, but on *smāyayāmi* of the tenth, according to which *smi*, also, is inflected (also in the middle only), and *smèya-yo* is therefore = *smāyayanti*. But if this is really the case, as I believe it is, then for our present object—viz in order to place in a clear light the analogy of the Carniolan imperative to the Sanscrit potential in a verb of

(see § 109^a. 6), are incapable of formally denoting the modal relation, since *i* in Gothic does not combine with an *ô* preceding it, but where *ô* would occur, the *i* is swallowed up by the *ô*, hence *friyôs* means both *amas* and, *ames*, and, in the latter case, stands for *friyôis*,^{*} so in the plural *friyôth* means both *amatis* and *ametis*. In the third person singular *friyô*, "*amet*" (for *friyôth*) is only unorganically distinguished from *friyôth*, since the subjunctive, according to § 432, has lost the personal character. The Old High German subjunctives like *salbôe*, *salbôes*, *salbôemes*, are unorganic, since the *ê* of *salbôes*, &c (which is shortened in the *auslaut*) is a contraction of *ai* (see § 78.), of which the *a* must belong to the class character. But in the *ô*, therefore, which is equivalent to *a + a*, the whole of the primitive form *aya* is contained, with the exception of the rejection of the semi-vowel there does not, therefore, remain any other *a*, which might, had it existed, have been contracted with the modal-vowel *i* to *ê*. Hence we must assume that the *ê* has found its way into this class of verbs only through a mal-introduction from those verbs where it has a legitimate ground for entering, at a time when the language was no longer conscious that the last half of the *ê = ai* belongs to the modal designation, but the former half to the derivation. Such is the case, for example, with forms like *habêes*, "*habeas*," *habêemes*, "*habeamus*," in which the first *ê* contains the two first elements of the class syllable *aya* (which are alone represented in the indicative *hab-ê-m*, *hab-ê-s*, see p 110),

* I am not of opinion that in the indicative, also, we should derive *salbôs* from *salbons*, and, in the first person, *salbô* from *salbôa*, for as in *vig-a-*, *vig-i-s*, *vig-i-th* (see § 507, Table), the *a* and *i* belong, not to the personal sign, but to the derivation or class syllable, so in *salb-ô-*, *salb-ô-s*, *salb-ô-th*, the *ô* only represents the *a* of the strong conjugation, which is interchanged with *i* the personal terminations, however, are as complete as in the strong conjugation

but the second *ē* contains the first *a* in contraction with the modal vowel *i*, so that therefore in *īar manē's* the second *ē* coincides with the Sanscrit *ē* of *mānay's* and the Latin *ē* of *monē's* (from *monēis* see § 691) and the first *ē* with the Latin *e* and Sanscrit *ay* which we have seen above (p 110) also in the Prakrit *mānēmi* contracted to *e*. The Gothic does not admit the diphthong *ai* twice together uninterruptedly hence *habais* 'habēis' stands in disadvantageous contrast with the Old High German *hābēis* and is not distinguishable from its indicative.

713 The Veda dialect possesses a mood which is wanting in the classic Sanscrit and which occurs in the Vedas even only in a few scanty remnants it is called by the Indian Grammarians *Lēt* and is rightly identified by Lassen with the Greek subjunctive. For as λέγ-ω-μεν λεγ-η-τε λέγ-ω-μαι λεγ-η-ται λεγ-ο-νται are distinguished from the corresponding indicative forms λεγ-ο-μεν λεγ-ε-τε λεγ-ο-μαι λεγ-ε-ται λεγ-ο-ντι only by the lengthening of the vowel of the class syllable so in the Veda dialect *pat ā ti* *cadat* is in like manner distinguished from *pat a ti* *cadit*, *grīhā nī dī* *capiantur* from *grīh ya nī* *capiuntur* only that in the latter form the tendency of the mood under discussion to the utmost possible fulness of form is manifested in this also that the final diphthong *e* (= *ai*) is augmented to *āi* in agreement with the first person imperative which in general accords more with the mood *Lēt* than with the other persons of the imperative since the person of the imperative which corresponds to the first person plural middle *bibhrīmahe* we carry is *bibharāmāhāi*.

714 In Greek neither the subjunctive nor any other mood is derived from the imperfect but in Vedic Sanscrit the mood *Lēt* comes from it as also in Zend which uses this mood very commonly and indeed principally in the imperfect tense but with the meaning of the

subjunctive present, as, *char-â-t*, "eat," from *char-* *a-t*, "ibat"; *van-â-t*, "destruat," from *van-* *a-t*, "destruebat"; *pat-an-n*, "volent" (for *pat-â-n*, see § 702.), *bar-an-n*, "ferant," from *pat-ē-n*, *bar-ē-n*, or rather from their primitive forms *pat-a-n*, *bar-a-n*. Thus in the Vêda dialect, *pat-â-m*, "cadam," from *apat-a-m*, "cadebam", *prachôdayât*, "inculet," from *prâchôd-aya-t*, "inculabat"

715 I am of opinion that the Sanscrit potential and precativè, and the moods in the kindred languages which may be classed with them, are connected with the principle of formation of the *Lêt*, or Greek subjunctive, in so far as the auxiliary verb contained therein, which these moods share with the future (see §. 670), has a long *â* as the conjunctive vowel, while the future has a short *a*. Consequently the Sanscrit *dad-yât* and *dâ-yât*, the Zend *daidh-yât* and *dâ-yât*, the Greek *δίδο-ῖν* and *δο-ῖν*, would properly signify, "he would give," and thus this mood would be only a more polite form of the *Lêt*, or subjunctive, as our expression, "*Ich bitte, mir dies gestatten zu wollen*," "I pray you to be willing to allow me this," is more polite than the abrupt "*mir dies zu gestatten*," "to allow me this." On the other hand, the future *dâ-s-yati* signifies "he will give," or, literally, "he will be giving," and the "willing" is here not an expression of politeness, but the symbol of the time not being the present, or it denies the present in a less decided manner than is the case in the augmented preterites by the *a* of negation

END OF PART II

